

# I

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## INTRODUCTION

**I**NDIA has always been to the Western world the land of dreams. It possesses the highest mountain, some of the largest rivers, a fertile soil and a diversity of climates. It is exceedingly rich in its natural resources and consequently it became the cradle of civilization in the dim morning of history.

India is bounded on the north by the snow clad peaks of the Himalayas and encircled on all other sides by the mighty Indian ocean. It thus forms a peninsula to the south of Asia and geographically is a separate continent. It was settled in the dawn of history by a branch of the Aryan family, which emigrated from the plains of Central Asia and implanted its colony on the fertile banks of the river Ganges. It was here that the most wonderful language — Sanskrit — was framed, it was here that the most subtle

philosophy was conceived, it was here that the most elaborate laws were worked out. It was here that Buddha and Asoka, two of the six greatest men in history, according to H. G. Wells' "Outline of History" were born. It is here that Mahatma Gandhi, one of the world's greatest leaders first saw life.

It is about this man of the hour, who has shaken the whole British Empire himself unarmed but facing armed hosts that this book is written. Gandhi, the Fearless Gandhi, the Great Soul, Gandhi who has gone to jail several times fighting for the freedom of his country is the first hope of the world for peace since the time of Jesus, the Master.

Realizing the need of information upon the situation in India, as well as about the man who is helping free the starved millions of that land, this book is written with a view to enlighten the public along these lines. If it can render

any service to any of its readers, the author will feel highly satisfied. My thanks are due to all those Silent Workers who have made this book possible in a very short time . '

THE AUTHOR,  
Los Angeles, California.  
March, 1932.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIA

**T**HE world has very crude ideas of India and Indian civilization, which dates back to 7000 B C To Kipling, India is the gorgeous East full of "barbaric pearls and gold", and leads him to the conclusion that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" But to Madam Blavatsky, Mrs Besant, Col Alcott, Max Muller, and to a host of other unbiased writers, India appears as the mother of all religions the repository of all philosophies, and the fountainhead of wisdom and civilization

What Darwin discovered in 1860 in the evolution theory had already been worked out by Goutam, the founder of Sankhya philosophy, 4000 years ago What Newton discovered in gravitation

and mathematical laws was propounded by Arya Bhatta and Bhaskaracharya during the 4th century. What Harvey proclaimed as the discovery of the circulation of the blood during the 18th century had been elaborately enunciated by the Ayurvedic surgeon Sushrut more than five thousand years ago. What Einstein gave out to the world as the Theory of Relativity was known to the Hindus of the pre Christian Era.

In the Vedas, science and religion are strangely intermingled and the word "maya" means "relativity." In the sense that we may mistake the unreal and phenomenal for the real and eternal, it is also translated as "illusion." But to the Brahmans it means that everything exists in relation to something else, that nothing possesses absolute or independent characteristics and that things are not what they seem at all. For example, a costume, which is charming on

one person loses all its grace on someone else; the integer 7 is greater than 5 but smaller than 9. All this is relativity.

It was reserved for Edwin Arnold to compose immortal songs and to sing passionately of the Light in the East. Such is the glory of the Orient. To quote Max Muller: "Whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language or religion, mythology or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive arts or primitive sciences, everywhere you have to go to India whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India alone."

India was great in her commerce. She traded with Babylon in the days of her glory; she traded with Egypt and sent there her muslin and other valuables

which still can be found in the tombs of Egyptian mummies buried more than 6,000 years ago. The great historian of ancient Rome, Pliny, said that there were a thousand ways by which gold found its way into India, and no way apparently by which it returned. The historical evidences are further corroborated by the written testimony of Emperor Kaikya who took pride in declaring that "there is no thief or gambler, or adulterer or illiterate in my kingdom."

The Hindus had developed their literature, arts and industries long before the period of Mahabharat which extended over 5000 years. They had been imparting their culture to all nations that were coming into contact with them. Their seats of learning (universities) were in a flourishing condition when Alexander visited India, 327 B. C. In short, their influence was paramount in



the whole of Asia and in some parts of Europe. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Greeks, and the Romans had their commercial relations with India. The very prosperity of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea in the beginning of the Christian era depended on the trade with India. The affluence of the Genoese and the Venetians was mainly due to their commercial relations with India. It was after the Crusades that the way to India was blocked and there developed a spirit of adventure to discover the sea route to the Indies. The imagination of Columbus was fired by the description of the fabulous riches of India. After persistent efforts for more than eighteen years, he set sail to find a new route, though fortunately for the world he discovered America. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, discovered the new way to India in 1498. Since then India has played an interesting part in the economic

and political development of the whole of Europe

India was rich and powerful Alexander the Great, a high spirited and fiercely young man who loved wars and wine, having heard of her fabulous wealth invaded India in 326 B C During his two years campaign in the Punjab and Sindh, he captured no province, but he made alliances, founded cities, and planted garrisons Alexander died after two years at the age of thirty three Seleucus one of his generals concluded a treaty of peace with Chandragupta, the Indian Emperor, who was the master of northern India from 322 to 298 B C, and Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to him He sent Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador to live for a number of years at the court of Chandragupta at Pataliputra (modern Patna) Megasthenes, in his diaries about the India of that time and of the administration of



the capital of the empire, writes that India had no thieves, and no locks on the doors, that the people were honest and truthful, industrious and frugal and that they lived happily and in a simple manner. He states that there were no famines in India, that the country and city governments were well regulated, each city having six bodies of five members each to look after the needs of the people.

According to MacCrindle's translation of extracts compiled from the writings of later Roman and Greek writers quoting at length Megasthenes' account, we find that Megasthenes has said that "the people lived in peace in their village communities, managing their own community concerns, enjoying the most complete autonomy in their village administration, and paying to the king's representative the tax assessed on every town and hamlet. These self-govern-

the two faiths worked harmoniously side by side, and that the people were happy

### **The Gupta Period, 320 to 480 A. D.**

The Gupta period comprised the reign of five great Hindu monarchs who occupied an imperial throne for 160 years at Magadha. The Gupta period is known as the golden age in Hinduism. It was in peace and the arts and industries of peace that the Gupta empire shone. Says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 12, p. 187, 14th Edition: "The land was rich and prosperous, the administration enlightened and tolerant, and Hindu art reached its zenith. Science was cultivated. Music, sculpture and painting attained a high level of excellence. Literature flourished, it was under the Guptas that Kalidasa's great play *Sakuntala* and Sanskrit as its vehicle developed unequalled suppleness and grace. Trade extended in all directions, and

diplomatic relations, in its course not less than three missions to imperial Rome figuring among the long tale of embassies sent by the Guptas to foreign courts. The Buddhist rule of life prevailed, Buddhism remaining in theory the State religion; but it was in this period that the reviving Hinduism absorbed the best elements in Hinduism, and at the same time undermined its tenets by new orientations of Brahmanical philosophy."

Chandragupta II summoned nine most famous men in his kingdom to adorn his court. They were known as the "Nine Gems," being illustrious men in science, art, drama, music, etc. Among these, Birbal was the wisest, and Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India.

At the decline of the Gupta Age, India was confronted by invasion, first by the Huns, then by the Mohammedans, and finally by the Moghuls. Babur, the

young King of Kabul descended upon India in 1525. But Akbar the Great, was the real founder of the Moghul Empire in India. He was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth of England and his reign lasted from 1556 to 1605 A. D. Akbar is remembered in India to this day as a civil administrator. He made the payment of land revenue easy for the peasant. He embraced Hinduism.

In the reign of Shah Jahan (King of the World), 1627 to 1656 A. D., the Moghul empire reached its magnificence. He founded the existing city of Delhi, and erected there the celebrated peacock throne. It was he who built the Taj Mahal, the jewel in marble at Agra, in memory of his beloved wife Nur Jahan (Light of the World), known also as Mumtaz Mahal. He himself lies by her side. On the death of Aurungzeb, the decline of the Moghul Empire set in.

The Moghul emperors constructed

the Grand trunk road running across the north of the peninsula with several other roads reaching out from Agra to Surat, Burhampur, and Golconda, covering the entire country. Each of these roads was laid out with avenues of trees, with wells for water, and with frequent sarais or rest houses.

In 1739, Nadir Shah of Persia, a Mohammedan conqueror invaded India and sacked the imperial city of Delhi. He carried off plunder estimated at about 25 million sterling.

### European Powers

The Portuguese expedition started from Lisbon in the year 1497 under Vasco da Gama, and after eleven months' voyage reached the city of Calicut on May 20, 1498. The Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of Oriental trade for about a century. The Dutch broke through their monopoly. During the 16th century Burger, Antwerp, and Am-



sterdam became the great emporia where Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese was distributed to Germany and to England

In 1602 "The United East Company of the Netherlands" was founded in India. However, the Dutch supremacy was wrecked when Clive in 1758 attacked the Dutch Chinsura by land and water. In the great French War from 1781 to 1811, England wrested from Holland everyone of her colonies.

Queen Elizabeth founded the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading with the East Indies" on the last day of 1600. But the English were met by the hostile Portuguese who were later defeated in 1612. This gave the English a foothold on India. Similarly the hostility of the Dutch was overpowered.

The political history of the British in India begins in the 18th century and in

the struggle with the French for dominion.

On the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, the last Moghul emperor, the whole of Southern India had become practically independent of Delhi. In the Deccan Proper, the Nizam-ul-Mulk founded an independent dynasty, with Hyderabad for its capital. Karnatic was ruled by a deputy of the Nizam known as the Nawab of Arcot. Trichinopoly, farther south, was the capital of a Hindu Rajah, and Tanjor formed another Hindu Kingdom under a descendant of the line of Sivaji, a Marahhta.

Such were the conditions in India when the French and the English began to vie with one another for commercial supremacy. In the wars of 1746 and 1748 between Clive and Dupleix, the English succeeded.

Then a war took place between Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the Mohammedan ruler,

and Clive at Plassy in 1757. Due to Mir Jahan, a traitor, the Mohammedan ruler was defeated and this gave victory to Clive.

The Marahhtas, who were in power in Rajputana and the vicinity began to oppose the English. This led to a war between them and Warren Hastings in 1782. With some small skirmishes, most of the Indian empire fell into the hands of the English at the close of the 18th century.

Now, the Punjab was mostly populated by the Sikhs, a strong and warlike people of the north. Though they were but a handful, they opposed the English invasion. However, in the war of 1844, even the Punjab, the richest and most fertile province fell into the hands of the English.

However, the people of India were never satisfied with the British rule.

This led to a mutiny in 1857. This mutiny was also suppressed.

At present there is a great conflagration in India. India is ablaze with a keen desire to be free. This fire the English will not be able to put out. India must be free. And soon she will be free. She is free already in her mind.

## II

## A CAREER BRIEFLY TOLD

**M**OHANDAS Karmchand Gandhi, better known as Mahatma Gandhi ("Mahama" meaning Great Soul"), was born at Parbunder, Kathiawar, about 225 miles north of Bombay, India, on October 2, 1869. His forefathers were Diwans, ministers of the State of Parbunder in that Province. His father was a great administrator and had been a minister in the Parbunder State for 25 years. Above all, he was an attractive personality, well known among a large circle of people. His mother was also great in her own ways. She had led a devout and chaste life of deep religious ecstasy. Between her and her youngest son, the coming Mahatma existed a strong affection. Her religious attitudes must have played a significant role in molding the character of the young

Gandhi, who was later to be responsible for launching a stupendous mass movement based upon Love and Non-violence, a movement that was to shake the very foundations of a mighty empire, and was to startle the world by adhering to a method that was so contradistinctive to the traditional manner of warfare, the ruthless system of heart-rending bloodshed and butchery.

Gandhi's formal education included the primary and high school at a rather early period of his life. He then became ardently desirous of going abroad for higher learning. He wanted to go to England to study law, but his mother would not let him go, fearing that the Western civilization would "spoil" her beloved child's unblemished character. However, Gandhi persisted in his determination to leave for England, and at last his mother had to give in. But she would permit him to go only if he, while

in England, would observe three vows that he take no intoxicating liquors, that he abstain from meat, and that he observe celibacy. It is said that Gandhi, throughout his stay in England, adhered quite strictly to these vows. In this connection the following interesting and jocular episode is narrated in one of his biographies.

During his sojourn in London as a student, Gandhi had cultivated a great many friendships among the East Indian and English students. Among the East Indian undergraduates especially he had several very intimate and confidential friends. One evening Gandhi proceeded out to supper with two of these East Indian companions. These two friends had been brought up as strict vegetarians like Gandhi himself, but that evening they were possessed of some Satanic impulse and they wanted to call upon their courage by trying

the experiment of meat-eating, just for once in their lifetime. But to Gandhi such an adventure of his friends was merely preposterous, something akin to playing with fire. A scene was being laid for a stupendous catastrophe; soon the wrath of the gods would descend upon the world, and things would in a moment be topsy-turvy. Gandhi would in no case be a party to the evil intents of his two colleagues. However, his friends proceeded to launch their fateful experiment, and ordered two meat dishes, Gandhi ordering a vegetable one. When the orders were served, his two friends, before starting on their dishes, intimate as they were, insisted that Gandhi taste just a little bite of meat. With a gasping insistence Gandhi was at last made to swerve. But as soon as he took the bite, his whole spirit was filled with horror at the carnal sin he was committing; at once, as he could not control himself, he spit out not alone



the bite, but even more from his stomach, and ran to a place of rescue. It is said that Gandhi did not recover from the shock of terror for a number of days. Thus he found out the limits to which he could go in violating one of his mother's sacred vows.

Gandhi had entered the London University where he prosecuted his legal studies for some time. Later he enrolled in the Inner Temple, whence he graduated as a barrister at law. Soon after graduating he returned to India, and was admitted as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court. There he practised law with great success for a number of years.

In 1893 Gandhi was induced to go to South Africa in connection with a legal case of some difficulty. Before he could do anything professionally, he had to apply for admission as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal, South Af-

rica. But he was vigorously opposed by the local Law Society on the ground that the law did not contemplate that a colored person should be admitted to practice. The right to practice as an Advocate was denied to Gandhi, even though he was fully qualified. More than this, Gandhi was still to find that, racially, in the British Colony of Natal, where the British Constitution was in force, he was regarded as an outcaste, scarcely higher than a savage of the native soil. Until this time, Gandhi, throughout his life, had cherished a great esteem for the British Constitution, and had regarded it as the champion of freedom and equality of all British subjects in every part of the Empire. But the two momentous facts of his legal disbarment, and of racial discrimination against him, in a British colony completely disillusioned him.

Later, Gandhi was asked by the In-

dian community of Natal to help them in their political troubles. Each domiciled Indian there had to pay an annual tax of three sterlings which was levied as a discriminative measure against all East Indians. He fought against this measure aggressively and succeeded in defeating it.

Next, Gandhi carried on a vigorous struggle to defeat the Asiatics' Exclusion Act that was passed by the Natal Parliament as a discriminative measure against all Asiatics in Natal, and, to his great credit, he again was able to mitigate it.

At the end of 1895, Gandhi returned to India, and, having been authorized by the Natal and Transvaal Indians to represent their grievances to the people of India, carried on a vigorous propaganda to awaken the people of India to the great injustice that their brethren were facing in the British colony of Na

tal. He utilized every mode of public appeal, pulpit or press. The mutilated contents of a pamphlet that Gandhi had edited and published were summarized by Reuter and cabled to Natal, where they evoked a furious protest on the part of the European colonists.

Consequently, when Gandhi returned to Durban, with his family, in 1896, he found the European colonists turned against him. Once it so happened that a mob of these Europeans became infuriated, attacked him and beat him till he was half dead. These colonists could not tolerate him, partly because he was helping his countrymen to establish their rights in Natal, which the Europeans did not want to recognize and partly because of a rumor that he had brought with him a number of Indian skilled workers with the express object of ousting the Europeans artisans from the field of employment.

In 1899, when the Anglo Boer War broke out, Gandhi induced the government to accept the offer of an Indian Ambulance Corps. The Corps was one thousand strong and saw active service under heavy fire. The work of the Corps was praiseworthy and Gandhi was awarded the war medal.

In 1901, Gandhi again returned to India. He had hardly resumed his practice of law in Bombay when he received a telegram from Natal, urging him to return to South Africa to take charge of the work of removing existing grievances and placing Indian affairs finally on a higher level. He promptly complied with the request, and soon after returning he started a newspaper called the Indian Opinion to educate the colonists of Natal both Europeans and Indians. In 1904, he organized a private hospital and nursing home and tended to the patients stricken with plague at Johannesburg.

nesburg, where most of the Indians were located. This work was formally appreciated by the municipal authorities who had failed to take precautions. In 1906, when a Zulu rebellion broke out in Natal, Mahatma Gandhi offered, on behalf of the Indian settlers there, a stretcher - bearer Corps. During the next few years Gandhi devoted himself to helping his countrymen in Natal in various ways. He had to organize passive resistance movements among his countrymen to win certain rights for them from the government, and he suffered the lot of being put into jail three times for various offences in this connection. As a result of his imprisonment Gandhi became ill. Upon release from prison his condition became worse as a result of overwork. In 1916 he returned to India.

The Government of India appreciated his services and recommended him for the Kaiser-Hind gold medal which was

conferred upon him by the King Emperor among the 1916 New Year honours

He confided in the good faith of the British Government, and so co-operated with it that during the first year of the European War, he came over to England and organized an Indian Ambulance Corps as he had previously done in South Africa

Mahatma Gandhi still believed in the British Constitution, its uprightness, its sense of justice and fair play, and its recognition of racial equality. As India was bled white during the European War, having contributed more than one million men, and hundreds of millions of rupees toward the great cause, India was made to believe it was humanity's fight in which the rights of oppressed nations and small states would be recognized. India, according to what she was promised to her, expected John

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at  
nome

rule or something similar to it after the war was over. But, instead of home rule, India got the Rowlett Acts which prohibited public meetings, political gatherings, and punished even the least suspects. The laws were meant to curb and curtail whatever liberty the Indians enjoyed in their own country.

However, Gandhi never lost faith in British honesty and fair play till the year 1919. In this fatal year at Amritsar, a famous city of the Punjab, where thousands of people had gathered for their annual pilgrimage and were holding a festival, Brigadier Dyer, suspecting it to be a political gathering, ordered his men to shoot at the innocent mob. The result was that five hundred men, women and children were killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. The shooting down of a defenseless and unarmed gathering in cold blood at the Jallianwallah Bagh, the monstrous



'methods of martial law administered by Colonel Johnson and Bosworth Smith the outrageous indignities to which the poor people of the place were subjected the callous disregard of life and respect which Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Brigadier Dyer inflicted, were some of the worst features of Prussianism—the crawling order and the public flogging—all these were too much for Gandhi, who soon foreswore his allegiance to the Crown. In returning his medal to the Viceroy on August 1, 1920, he wrote to him thus

'Your Excellency's light hearted treatment of the official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr Montague's dispatch and above all the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords, have filled me with the greatest misgivings regarding the future of

e Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and disabled me from tendering, as I have hitherto wholeheartedly tendered, my loyal co operation "

During 1921, he launched a campaign of Non Co operation. He clearly enunciated the four stages of the Non co operation program namely to give up titles and honorary offices secondly, to refuse to serve the Government in said appointments or to participate in any manner in the working of all existing machinery of civil and judicial administration, thirdly, to decline to pay taxes, and fourthly, to ask the police and the military to withdraw co operation from the Government.

Gandhi started on an extensive campaign preaching Non Co operation to large audiences. This however, brought him in conflict with the authorities. Gandhi was arrested on March 10, 1922,

\* for preaching disaffection against Crown

The trial came on March 18th before Mr C N Broomfield I C S District and Sessions Judge Ahmadabad. The hearing was historic in many ways. Nineteen hundred years ago Jesus stood for a similar trial before Pontius Pilate. Mr Gandhi's plea was in best form, candid and clear. Never before was such a prisoner arraigned before a British court of justice. His statement before the court at the time of his conviction in which he pleaded himself guilty reads thus:

'From a staunch co operator, I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non co operator. To prevent disaffection toward the existing system of government has become almost a passion with me. If I were free, I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I did not do



I had either to submit to a system which has done irreparable harm my country, or to incur the mad fury my people, bursting forth when they heard the truth from my lips. I do not ask for mercy. I am here to invite and to submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what I law is a crime, but which is the first duty of every citizen. Affection can not be manufactured or regulated by law. I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected toward a government which, in its totality, has done more harm to India than any previous system. It is the physical and brutal ill treatment of humanity which has made many of my co-workers and myself impatient of life itself."

For a moment everybody wondered who was on trial—Mahatma Gandhi before a British Judge or the British Government before God and humanity. The

Following His light as far as I see it I had hoped for the release by the act of the Swaraj Parliament and to be able to take my humble share in serving free India. That was not to be, we have yet to achieve freedom. I have no new programme. God, I know, is Truth. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of the Truth. Only free India can worship the true God. But my patriotism is not exclusive. It is calculated not only not to hurt another nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world."

Following some riots in India he undertook, on September 11th, a fast of twenty one days both as a penance and prayer. He thus expressed his thoughts, "The recent events have proved unbearable for me. My helplessness is still more unbearable. My religion teaches

plans for India. On behalf of the Congress party, the view was expressed that unless previous assurance was given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the conference was to draft a scheme for dominion status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be great difficulty about Congress's participation. Since such assurance did not come forth, the conference failed. Consequently, the Congress met at Lahore December 29, 1929 when Gandhi moved a resolution, declaring independence as the goal of India, characterizing it as the root of the future work of the Congress. The resolution declared Complete Independence as the meaning of Swaraj for the purpose of the Congress and resolved on the complete boycott of the legislatures as a preliminary step toward organizing a campaign for Complete Independence. Finding that the Viceroy was not willing to prepare

the ground to grand India Home Rule in the near future, Gandhi wrote in his paper, "Young India," "The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion States till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage earner getting seven pice (less than 4 cents) per day. The Congress would today, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least would get a living even equal to the millionaire. The peasant is fully awakened to the sense of his plight and knows that it is not Kismet (Fate) that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule. Unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinction between the constitutional and unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent methods. The Congress expect to guide the peasants in the right direction."

Then he made the following offer to

Lord Irwin, not unlike the one he had made to Lord Reading previously:

1. Total prohibition.
2. Reduction of rates to 1s.4d. This was the former rate. Now it is 1s.6d. per rupee. India is losing much because of the different rates.
3. Reduction of land revenue at least by 50 per cent, and making it subject to legislative control.
4. Abolition of the salt tax.
5. Reduction of military expenditure by 50 per cent to begin with.
6. Reduction of salaries of the highest grade services by half or less to suit the reduced revenue.
7. Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
8. Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
10. Abolition of the C. I. D. (Crimi-



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of civil disobedience, Gandhi wrote what is usually known as his "ultimatum" to the Viceroy. The author was at Mahatma's Ashram (retreat) when the document was being prepared. The ultimatum was taken to Delhi by a young Englishman of eighteen, Reginald Rhenolds, and was delivered to the Viceroy March 4, 1930.

The Viceroy gave a curt reply expressing regret that Mr. Gandhi contemplated a course of action which was clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace. Commenting upon the reply of the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in "Young India":

"On bended knees I asked for bread and I received a stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison."

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India is a vast prison house I repudiate this British law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent "

Mahatma Gandhi then prepared for his Satyagraha, (Non violent Civil Disobedience) He announced that he would march with an unarmed army of volunteers early in the morning on March 12th on a campaign of civil disobedience Thousands of people gathered to hear him on March 11th on the banks of the Sabarmati near his Ashram Gandhi laid down one condition for the people to join the "War of Independence," namely "Absolute non violence as an article of faith," and he gave out his last message and testament to the assembled visitors thus "Our case is strong, our means purest, and God is with us There is no defeat for the Sa

tyagaphis (followers of non-violent civil disobedience) till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins tomorrow."

Speaking of Civil Disobedience through breaking of the salt monopoly, Gandhi suggested three means to achieve the end, namely, by manufacturing salt wherever and whenever possible; by removing salt without paying duty; and by distribution of it.

Just a little before daybreak on the morning of March 12, 1930, Gandhi, with his 79 volunteers who were trained in his Ashram, left the Ashram on a campaign of civil disobedience, their destination being the village of Dandi on the sea coast near Jalalpur where he was to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt.

Thousands of men and women clad in Khaddar (home-spun cloth) had flocked to the Ashram all through the night to

have a darshan (to pay tribute and see the holy man) of Mahatmaji and witness the great march. And at the time of the march the wave of patriotism was so strong in the hearts of mankind that it is beyond description. Enthusiastic crowds, seeing Gandhi off shouting, "Gandhiji ki Jai!" (victory to Gandhiji), singing national songs looking up and praying for victory, created such a soul stirring scene as the world has never beheld. For Gandhi these were the last moments at his Ashram for he was not to return till his goal was achieved.

All along his march he received cries of victory for him and the young and the poor came to have a look from him. They finally reached their destination on April 5th. Soon after the morning prayers he, with his volunteers proceeded exactly at 6 o'clock in the morning, for a bath in the sea. Right after the bath he picked up the salt that was

ed against Gandhi, calling him a traitor to India and her independence, though, Gandhi said that he did his very best to have all the prisoners set free, but he could not force the government, and that in spite of his remonstrations, they hanged Bhagat Singh and his allies. Nevertheless, a red shirted youth rushed towards Gandhi with a flag pole, but Pundit Madan Mohan Malvya, Vice-Chancellor of Benares University, frustrated the would-be assailant. This happened on March 25, 1931.

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would not be complete, all parties united and requested Gandhi to go to England. Hence, as the spokesman of India's "dumb and starved millions," Gandhi sailed for England in September as a representative of the Indian National Congress, with full powers from India's greatest national body to do as he saw fit.

Gandhi spent three months in England in vain and returned disappointed to India during December 1931.

While journeying from Bombay to his Ashram (retreat) Gandhi was arrested at 3.30 a.m. while asleep in the train on January 4, 1932. This is the fourth time that Gandhi has been incarcerated for trying to set his country free from aggressive England. But, "stone wall do not a prison make, nor iron bars cage," for so great a soul as Gandhi. Gandhi is a greater force within the jail walls than out of them.

## GANDHI AND WORLD PEACE

What Gandhi has done was never accomplished nor ever will be achieved by any single man in the history of the world. He has awakened India, united her people, broken the traditional and age long caste system and rekindled the fires of Independence for which the millions of India have been yearning for the last tow centuries. Hail to Gandhi the Immortal! Hail to India for giving birth to such a great soul! and hail to Christ for inspiring Gandhi! and hail to TRUTH which is God!

## III

## Three Days At Gandhi's Retreat

**I** WAS fortunate indeed to have the privilege of visiting Gandhiji and his Ashram (retreat) and to stay there as a guest for three days, just before he started on his historic march, on a campaign of Civil Disobedience

After visiting Quetta, Karachi, and Hyderabad, Sindh, I arrived at Ahmedabad, Gujrat, late in the evening of March 1, 1930. As the Ashram is located out in the open, about four miles from Ahmedabad, I decided to go there early the following morning. Having rested at Ahmedabad for the night I boarded the morning train for Sabarmati, a small station named after the Sabarmati River which flows between it and Ahmedabad. I had left the hotel at eight o'clock but I did not reach Sabarmati till almost ten

I had lots of baggage with me, including the bedding. Travellers in India must have their own bedding. The hotels do not furnish bedclothes. I had to have an assistant. No cart went to the Ashram. I asked one or two men at the station to carry my luggage to the Ashram, but they said that they were not the porters. Finally I came across a large, husky individual who helped me. I was told that the Ashram was about a mile from the station. But I found it to be not less than a mile and a half. Eventually I reached the office located in the Guest House of the Ashram. As the space in the Retreat is limited, there being only a certain number of accommodations for the guests, each person is required to communicate with the Secretary of the Ashram and get his approval before going there; otherwise, one may have difficulty in being received. Since Gandhiji was on the war path for India's freedom, many

people went there just for curiosity and added to the burden of the already crowded Ashram. Hence, the insistence upon the secretarial permit. As I had mine, I was received hospitably by the secretary. I left my luggage in the verandah and accompanied by one of the office aides went to see Gandhiji at his office. I found him busily engaged and as there were half a dozen more persons awaiting their turn I decided to see him later. As I was leaving I came across an acquaintance whom I had met three months earlier at the Congress Anniversary at Lahore. He was an assistant of Gandhiji before but was now in charge of Khaddi (homespun cloth) work at the Ashram. He walked with me to the Guest House office. I was asked to make my lodging in the main room of the school building, on the second floor, facing the main thoroughfare. As the Ashram people believe in self-help, there being no coolies there, assisted by my

friend, I carried my baggage to my room. I was supplied with a sarahi (an earthen vessel that keeps water cool) full of water and a glass, as it was very warm during the day. I unpacked my clothes and made my bed on the floor. There was practically no furniture in the quarters, but the room was large, with six or eight windows, two doors and a high ceiling. My friend then took me around and showed me the kitchen, the dining hall, wash room, and some other buildings. He gave me the approximate time of each function at the Ashram and told me where to go at the proper signals.

As he left he shook hands with me and asked me to feel at home. It was almost meal time, I washed myself, and went to the dining hall when the bell rang. The inmates of the Ashram were pouring in. Some of them sat on the mattresses on the floor, others had soft

friend and butter came from the cows of  
 Ashram dairy. Most of the persons  
 ate with hands, others used  
 spoons. Of course, the Indians, unlike  
 people of the Western world, try to  
 make life simple. They think it is a  
 hundred times better to use the hands  
 than silverware that has been utilized  
 by others, and perhaps washed in con-  
 taminated water. This cuts down labor  
 for the kitchen aides and it keeps in line  
 caste restrictions not to use silverware  
 that has been handled and put into other  
 mouths. It is also economical to eat  
 with the hands, India being so poor a  
 country. Nevertheless, there is no caste  
 system at the Ashram. In that dining  
 hall sat men and women, representing  
 all classes, rich and poor, the high caste  
 and the low caste, Europeans and Indi-  
 ans, all side by side. Amid them all sat  
 the Mahatma, without any tinge of  
 superiority. Our food was very plain  
 and we ate in a simple way. I noticed,

Gandhiji eating with the very simplicity of a child. There was very little talking in the dining hall. Miss Slade, the English lady, now known as Mira Bai, sat like all of us, on the floor and ate with the hands.

As soon as the meal was finished, each left the place as clean as he found it, often washing it with water, so that it would be ready for the next meal, carried his own dishes and washed them, put them where they were before, washed his hands, rinsed his mouth and left the dining premises. In India religion is part of life. Before eating, all wash their hands. Some take complete baths. And again after the meals they wash their hands and mouths.

After the lunch as I rested for a while, two young men who came from Bombay, were brought to my room, there being no space left elsewhere. They were to be my room mates.

That afternoon about 2.30, we at



tended the marriage ceremony performed by Mr. Gandhi, and attended by Ashramites and distinguished guests of the Mahatma. The wedding, which was held in the open, marked a great epoch in the annals of Indian marriages. It was the marriage of Gandhi's niece to a young man from Marwar, a different province and caste from the one to which she belonged. The bride was not more than twenty years of age and the bridegroom about twenty-five. A priest chanted and prayed and united the couple in holy wedlock. They were pronounced husband and wife, were made to take the vows to love, cherish, and be faithful and constant to each other till death. The bride, dressed in beautiful home-spun coarse cloth (khaddar), took part in the ceremony without any conventionality or veil. She was sweet and beautiful, modest and shy. The bridegroom, too, was a bit shy. Having received blessings from Mahat-

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\*maji, the priests and the distinguished guests of the Ashram and their parents, the couple participated in a feast that had been prepared for the occasion

After the ceremony some of us walked about the Ashram grounds, looking at various buildings, the river bank, the stream of water and the boarding house. Then came supper time about six o'clock. This took about forty minutes. After resting some twenty minutes we heard the prayer gong and all went to pray. We all squatted upon soft, white sand, women sitting separately, and men by themselves all around Mahatmaji. The sun had set. With the blue sky for our canopy, the white soft sand for our cushions on the bank of the Sabarmati, we all began to pray. We started with chants from the Hindu Scriptures to the Great God of the Universe. This was followed by a silence for a few moments in which to compose

ourselves and tune in with the Infinite.\* Gandhiji spoke to the assembled Ashramites and blessed again the newly married couple that was present. He emphasized the duties of married life not only toward each other, but to all others with whom we may come in contact. He instructed the couple to do their utmost to make the matrimonial bond a complete success, and thus to set an example that marriage between two individuals, belonging to two different castes, can be as happy and successful as between members of the same caste; and that this exemplary responsibility lay on each of them. Further, Gandhiji asked his niece to co-operate with her husband and share his joy and sorrow as her own. After this, a few more chants, and the prayer came to a close.

After an hour of study and recreation, the bell to retire rang at about nine o'clock. In a few moments all lights

were put out and all was quiet on the grounds. We left all the windows and doors open and had a refreshing sleep, except that we were visited by a few mosquitoes during the night. We heard the rising bell at four o'clock in the morning, so that we had just seven hours for sleep. We went to the prayer grounds at 4:15. The whole congregation took part in the prayer. The stars were shining, the birds would chant occasionally their songs, and the flowing river broke the silence of the night. In those moments, away from the noise and turmoil of the everyday humdrum of life, early in the morning, after a night's rest, one could not do any better than to begin the activities of the day by praying to one's Father in Heaven. I felt supreme ecstasy filling my whole being. The beautiful tunes of the chants coming out of the hearts of sweet-voiced men, whose lives were consecrated to their Motherland to rescue her from the

shackles of bondage and save her from the clutches of British tyranny, filled me with such a bliss and impressed me with such hopes for the future of India that tears of joy rolled from my eyes. Words cannot express the experience my soul went through in those happy moments. Christians, Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsees, Buddhists all worshipped together their common Father. The morning and evening prayers begin and close the activities of the day. They are held chiefly for the purpose of self purification and for the dedication of one's all to God. The women have a prayer meeting of their own a few hours later also. They do not join the men in the morning prayer. After half an hour the dawn service came to a close. The Ashramites, after their daily dozens, personal cleanliness, baths, etc., following the morning prayer, went to the dining hall when the bell for break-

fast rang The breakfast was followed by a few moments' rest

### Meeting The Mahatmaji

On the second day of my stay at the Ashram, I had the appointment with the Mahatmaji. My friend about whom I have written had told Gandhiji about me. So right after the lunch I met him. As soon as I approached him with folded hands I saluted him in Indian fashion, by bending low till my hands and forehead touched his feet. This is the way in which saints and holy men in India are greeted. I then stood up and the Mahatma said "You are Sant Ram? I heard about you." We talked for a few minutes and then as the Mahatmaji expressed his desire to visit the Ashram hospital, he expected me to walk along with him. We talked on the way. I sought Mahatmaji's advice about a certain matter. He replied, "Follow the dictates of your own conscience." Then



I told Gandhiji that I intended to return to the United States soon "What message shall I take from you?" His reply was, "I have no message to give" Gandhiji would not bind himself He never does Great men as a rule do not commit themselves And when the matter under consideration came to a close, he plainly told me, "I have finished, I have nothing further to say" We then arrived at the hospital and went to a room A little girl, seven years of age was suffering from fever Gandhiji spoke to her and smiled and encouraged her, saying that she would soon get well The child smiled back at Gandhiji She felt much at ease and quite important in having Bapuji—Daddy, as Gandhi is often called—pay her a visit We then visited a few more patients In each case Gandhiji cheered the patient up, humored him a bit and left him feeling much better Having visited the hos-

hospital, he went to his office where after greetings we parted. Some people were waiting to see him.

### Mr. Reginald Rhénolds

That afternoon, I met the English youth who was selected by Gandhi to take his "ultimatum" to the Viceroy. I asked him how he happened to be there. He said that he was interested in the work and movement of the Mahatmaji, having been introduced into the Ashram by another Englishman, a personal friend of Mr. Gandhi. During the conversation, he told me that he was leaving that evening for Delhi. As I was inquisitive, he confided that he was going to see the Viceroy to deliver a message from Mahatmaji. I was glad to know all this. We talked a few more moments and then we parted. This youth put up in the room next to mine,

that is how I happened to see him and talk to him while he was preparing to go to Delhi that evening

### Miss Slade

I had seen that morning Miss Slade working among the plants, watering them. I made up my mind to see her as soon as possible. So, that afternoon, I passed by her cabin that was near the path leading to Gandhi's office. I stopped on the path and saw Miss Slade spinning. I went to the door of the cabin and introduced myself to her, and said that I was interested in knowing how she liked being at the Ashram. After the formal salutation, she told me gently that she liked the Ashram life more than anything else in the world. While she talked to me, she kept spinning. I remarked that she was very industrious. She said that she had to be, for Bapuji did not want any one to

gives me to understand that the hearts and souls of justice loving Englishmen and women are with India. They want India to become politically and economically free.

After the evening supper, Gandhiji, accompanied by some thirty inmates of the Ashram, went out for a walk. I accompanied them. He had two youngsters hardly twelve years of age, a boy and a girl, walking on each side of him. Gandhiji's hands rested upon their shoulders. Happily they walked along. Mahatmaji kept a high degree of humor and smiled most of his way. The walk gave me the idea of a big family, going out for a stroll, enjoying confidential talks with the headman of the family, in this case Gandhiji. I noticed, too, that Gandhiji, though over sixty years of age, could walk faster than a young man of twenty-five. Some of the inmates

of the Ashram had to run occasionally<sup>3</sup> to keep pace with him. I realized then, that it was not the physical energy that made him strong, but it was the spirit-force from within that gave him power over not only his own body but the masses of India.

Another day passed happily for me. For, I had an opportunity to study the man who is to be the World Teacher. The World Teacher he will be, if his movement succeeds. Succeed it must, for it is based upon Truth. It is a movement for the emancipation of more than three hundred million human beings, who have a right to guide their own destinies: And their's is a just war, a holy war in the name of peace, prosperity, and happiness, not only of India alone, but of the whole world. Free India will liberate the world. She has been a world champion of spirituality

in the past, and she will be a champion of spirituality in the future; her spirit to live for ever!

On the third day I visited the machine shops, the Khaddis—where homespun cloth is manufactured—and the agricultural fields. All these things brought home to me that the Ashram acted as a self-sustaining colony, operating for the uplift of India in particular, and that of the world in general, working unselfishly under the able guidance of the greatest man the world has ever produced since Jesus the Christ.



(JESUS CHAIR IN HIS (OLD) POSTURE)

IT WAS HERE IN THE WILDERNESS

“In the past, and she will be a champion of spirituality in the future, her spirit to live for ever!”

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As there were no helpers, and there was no time left for the cart to be brought to get my baggage to the station, the train being due there in half an hour, two of the Ashramites helped me carry my baggage. I thanked them and parted. Having enjoyed these three days, I left the Ashram by night train





CHRIST IN HIS SOUL'S POSTURE

## GANDHI AND WORLD PEACE

for Bombay. I am glad that I went there. Such is the spirit of the Ashram and its great leader!

## A PRAYER

**W**HERE the mind is without fear and  
 the head is held high,  
 Where knowledge is free,  
 Where the world has not been broken  
 up into fragments by narrow do-  
 mestic walls,  
 Where words come out from the depth  
 of truth,  
 Where tireless striving stretches its  
 arms toward perfection,  
 Where the clear stream of reason has  
 not lost its way into the dreary desert  
 sand of dead habit,  
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee  
 into the ever widening thought and  
 action—  
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,  
 let my country awake

—TAGORE in "Gitarjali"

## IV

### GANDHI'S IDEAS AND BELIEFS

#### About Satyagraha

**S**ATYAGRAHA means the grasping of Truth, Truth itself is God. He who cannot and does not follow Truth cannot see God. To be a true Satyagrahi, a person must be true to himself as well as to others. This means that one should be truthful in thought, word and deed. One's conduct should be such as to make him feel proud of it. If it leaves a guilty conscience behind, it is far from Truth. Gandhi believes that man's inner nature is divine. Since God is Truth, God is Love. Truth and Love are synonymous terms. If man were to grasp Truth in its reality and he were to understand Love as it was meant to be understood, there would be more peace and happiness in the world. Lack

of true love makes people narrow. Lack of truthfulness makes them weaklings. Narrowness and weakness result in misery, unhappiness, and all the trouble there is in the world.

Do you want peace on earth? Do you want to stop wholesale murder of the flower and youth of the world? Do you want to grow mentally, physically, and spiritually? Then, know the meaning of Truth and Love. Jesus taught that God is Love, or Love is God. Gandhi teaches that Truth is God, or God is Truth. Therefore, Love is Truth, or Truth is Love. This is true according to geometry which says that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. This forms a Holy Trinity. If you can find one, you will be able to find the other two. Which of the Holy Three have you found? If you have not discovered even one of this Triune Prin-

ciple, seek it before it is too late." This will make you a true observer of Satyagraha. That is what Gandhi means by Satyagraha.

The following definition of Satyagraha and the rules to govern the conduct of a Satyagrahi, i. e., a Civil Resister, have been published by Mahatma Gandhi in his paper "Young India":

### **Some Rules of Satyagraha**

Satyagraha literally means insistence on truth. This insistence arms the votary with matchless power. This power or force is connoted by the word Satyagraha. Satyagraha, to be genuine, may be offered against parents, against one's wife or one's children, against rulers, against fellow citizens, even against the whole world.

Such a universal force necessarily makes no distinction between kinsmen

and strangers, young and old, man and woman, friend and foe. The force to be so applied can never be physical. There is in it no room for violence. The only force of universal application can, therefore, be that of ahimsa or love. In other words it is soul force.

Love does not burn others, it burns itself. Therefore, a Satyagrahi, i.e., a civil resister will joyfully suffer even unto death.

It follows, therefore, that a civil resister, whilst he will strain every nerve to compass the end of the existing rule, will do no intentional injury in thought, word or deed to the person of a single Englishman. This necessarily brief explanation of Satyagraha will perhaps, enable the reader to understand and appreciate the following rules.

**As An Individual**

3

1. A Satyagrahi, i. e., a civil resister will harbour no anger.
2. He will suffer the anger of the opponent.
3. In so doing he will put up with assaults from the opponent, never retaliate; but he will not submit, out of fear of punishment or the like, to any order given in anger.
4. When any person in authority seeks to arrest a civil resister, he will voluntarily submit to the arrest, and he will not resist the attachment or removal of his own property, if any, when it is sought to be confiscated by authorities.
5. If a civil resister has any prop-



erty in his possession as a trustee, he will refuse to surrender it, even though in defending it he might lose his life. He will, however, never retaliate

6 Non retaliation excludes swearing and cursing

7 Therefore a civil resister will never insult his opponent, and therefore also not take part in many of the newly coined cries which are contrary to the spirit of Ahimsa

8 A civil resister will not salute the Union Jack, nor will he insult it or officials, English or Indian

9 In the course of the struggle if any one insults an official or commits an assault upon him, a civil resister will protect such

official or officials from the insult or attack even at the risk of his life.

### As A Prisoner

10. As a prisoner, a civil resister, will behave courteously toward prison officials, and will observe all such discipline of the prison as is not contrary to self-respect; as for instance, whilst he will salaam officials in the usual manner, he will not perform any humiliating gyrations and refuse to shout Victory to Sarkar or the like. He will take cleanly cooked and cleanly served food, which is not contrary to his religion, and will refuse to take food insultingly or served in unclean vessels.
11. A civil resister will make no distinction between an ordinary

prisoner and himself, will in no way regard himself as superior to the rest, nor will he ask for any conveniences that may not be necessary for keeping his body in good health and condition to the rest, nor will he ask for such conveniences as may be required for his physical or spiritual wellbeing

- 12 A civil resister may not fast for want of convenience whose deprivation does not involve any injury to one's self respect

### As A Unit

- 13 A civil resister will joyfully obey all the orders issued by the leader of the corps, whether they please him or not
- 14 He will carry out orders in the first instance even though they

appear to him insulting, inimical<sup>9</sup> or foolish, and then appeal to higher authority. He is free before joining to determine the fitness of the corps to satisfy him, but after he has joined it, it becomes a duty to submit to its discipline in some or otherwise if the sum total of the energy of the corps appears to a member to be improper or immoral, he has a right to sever his connection, but being within it, he has no right to commit a breach of its discipline.

- 15 No civil resister is to expect maintenance for his dependents. It would be an accident if any such provision is made. A civil resister entrusts his dependents to the care of God. Even in ordinary warfare wherein hundreds of thousands give them

prisoner and himself, will in no way regard himself as superior to the rest, nor will he ask for any conveniences that may not be necessary for keeping his body in good health and condition to the rest nor will he ask for such conveniences as may be required for his physical or spiritual wellbeing

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selves up to it, they are able to make no previous provision. How much more, then, should such be the case in Satyagraha? It is the universal experience that in such times hardly anybody is left to starve

### **In Communal Fights**

- 16 No civil resister will intentionally become a cause of communal quarrels
- 17 In the event of any such outbreak, he will not take sides, but he will assist only that party which is demonstrably in the right. Being a Hindu he will be generous toward Mussulmans and others, and will sacrifice himself in the attempt to save non-Hindus from a Hindu attack. And if the attack is from the other side, he will not participate

in any retaliation but will give his life in protecting Hindus.

18. He will, to the best of his ability, avoid every occasion that may give rise to communal quarrels.
19. If there is a procession of Satyagrahis they will do nothing that would wound the religious susceptibilities of any community, and they will not take part in any other processions that are likely to wound such susceptibilities.

### About Truth

Gandhi says that Truth is not fulfilled by mere abstinence from telling or practising an untruth in ordinary relations with fellowmen. But Truth is God, the one and only reality. All other observations take their rise from the quest for, and the worship of Truth. Worshipers of Truth must not resort to



untruth, even for what they may believe to be the good of the country, and they may be required like Prahlad, civilly to disobey the orders even of parents and elders by virtue of their paramount loyalty to Truth

### About Non-violence or Love.

He says that mere non killing is not enough. The active part of non violence is Love. The law of Love requires equal consideration for all life from the tiniest insect to the highest man. One who follows this law must not be angry even with the perpetrator of the greatest imaginable wrong, but must love him, wish him well and serve him. Although he must thus love the wrong doer he must never submit to his wrong or injustice, but must oppose it with all his might, and must patiently and without resentment suffer all the hardships to which

the wrong-doer may subject him in punishment for his opposition.

### About Chastity .

Observance of the foregoing principles is impossible without the observance of celibacy. It is not enough that one should not look upon any woman with a lustful eye, but passion must be so controlled as to be excluded even from the mind. If married, one must not have a carnal mind regarding one's wife or husband, but must consider her or him, as one's life-long friend, and establish a relationship of perfect purity. A sinful touch, gesture or word is a direct breach of this principle.

### About Control of the Palate

The observance of celibacy has been found, from experience, to be extremely difficult so long as one has not acquired mastery over taste. Control of the palate has therefore been placed as a prin-

ciple by itself Eating is necessary only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service Food must therefore be taken like medicine, under proper restraint In pursuance of this principle one must abstain from exciting foods, such as spices and condiments Meat, liquor, tobacco, bhang (drugs), etc are excluded from the Ashram This principle requires abstinence from feasts or dinners which have pleasure as their sole object

### About Non-Stealing

It is not enough not to take another's property without his permission One becomes guilty of theft even by using differently anything which one has received in trust for use in a particular way, as well as, by using a thing longer than the period for which it has been lent It is also theft if one receives anything which one does not really need The fine truth at the bottom of this

principle is that Nature provides just enough, and no more, for our daily need.

### **About Non-Possession Or Poverty**

This principle is a part of the above principle. Just as one must not receive, so must one not possess anything one does not really need. It would be a breach of this principle to possess unnecessary foodstuffs, clothing or furniture. For instance, one must not keep a chair, if one can do without it. In observing this principle one is led to a progressive simplification of one's own life.

### **About Physical Labor**

Physical labor is essential for the observance of non-stealing and non-possession. Man can be saved from injuring society, as well as, himself, only if he sustains physical existence by physical labor. Able-bodied adults must do all their personal work themselves, and

must not be served by others, except for proper reasons. But they must, at the same time, remember, that service of children, as well as of the disabled, the old and the sick is a duty incumbent on every person who has the required strength

### About Swadeshi (home-made)

Man is not omnipotent. He therefore serves the world best by serving his neighbor first. This is Swadeshi, a principle which is broken when one professes to serve those who are more remote in preference to those who are near. Observance of Swadeshi makes for order in the world; the breach of it leads to chaos. Following this principle one must as far as possible purchase one's requirements locally and not buy things imported from foreign lands, which can easily be manufactured in the country. There is no place for self interest in Swadeshi which enjoins the

sacrifice of oneself for the family, of the family for the village, of the village for the country, and the country for humanity.

### About Fearlessness

One cannot follow Truth or Love so long as one is subject to fear. As there is at present a reign of fear in the country, meditation on, and the cultivation of fearlessness have a particular importance. Hence, the separate mention for its observance. A seeker after Truth must give up the fear of parents, caste, government, robbers, etc., and he must not be frightened by poverty or death.

### About Tolerance

The Mahatmaji says that the principal faiths of the world constitute a revelation of Truth, but as they all have been outlined by imperfect man they have been affected by imperfections and

alloyed with untruth One must therefore entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as one accords to one's own Where such tolerance becomes a law of life, conflict between different faiths becomes impossible, and so does all effort to convert other people to one's own faith One can only pray that the defects in the various faiths may be overcome and that they may advance, side by side, toward perfection

Such are some of the beliefs and ideals of the greatest saint of modern India, Mahatma Gandhi It is evident that he is a universal man, believing in the greatest good for the greatest number of people

## V

## THE CHARKHA OR THE SPINNING WHEEL

**G**ANDHI has been unjustly criticised for not believing in machinery. For he does believe in machinery; he believes that man himself is a wonderful machine. However, he does not believe in machinery if it is to be utilized to kill and destroy millions, as was the case in the late World War. Again, he does not believe in the kind of machinery that enables a few to ride on the backs of millions, keeping the masses poverty-stricken. He believes in all machinery which expresses love, such as the sewing machine. We know that Singer invented the sewing machine in order to relieve his wife from the drudgery of the slow process of sewing with her hands. It was his love for the wife that made him produce the sewing machine. Gand-



his spinning wheel is a similar machine. It is a symbol of freedom for India. It means to relieve the suffering millions from the shackles of poverty. It aims at making the masses independent economically, and politically. It seeks to solve the unemployment problem that is staring in the face of the world today. Gandhi believes that if every man and woman in India kept spinning, producing enough homespun cloth to clothe the country for one year and India did not import any article or cloth from England for that period she would gain independence, because of economic reasons at home. The spinning wheel, in the opinion of Gandhi, will destroy the Lancashire industries that have been built upon India's exploitation.

Consequently, we find today that more than one million charkhas or spinning wheels are in operation in India. In this ancient home industry of India

lies India's hope of gaining Swaraj (complete home rule, or independence). The spinning wheel cries aloud for India's emancipation, and its cry is ringing in the ears of the teeming millions of India, who have adopted daily spinning at the wheel.

## VI

## THE GANDHI CAP

**T**HE Gandhi Cap is a product of the spinning wheel. It is a white cap made of Khaddar (home spun cloth). This cap all followers of Gandhi wear. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the ex president of the Indian National Congress, and his father, a famous lawyer in India wore this cap. Formerly they used to send their clothes to Paris to be laundered. Also, all the followers of Gandhi, small or great, use this cap as a symbol of freedom for India. In a sermon delivered by the Reverend Doctor John Haynes Holmes to the congregation in the Community Church on Park Avenue, New York, recently, we find the following comment on the Gandhi Cap:

‘This cap is a symbol of human devotion as sacred as the cross. As the early Christians lifted the cross in token

of Christ's triumph over shame and death, so the Indians are wearing this cap in token of Gandhi's triumph over tyranny and force. Why should not this cap go around the world, as the cross has gone? For there are millions of men in all countries today who see in the Mahatma the true redeemer of our modern world. More than any other man, since Jesus, Gandhi manifests that spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save us."

The theme of the lecture was "Gandhi before Pilate." And Rev. Dr. Holmes' concluded thus:

"The kings and captains depart, the governors and the tetrarchs are forgotten, empires rise and fall, but the Christ and Mahatma live forever, enshrined in the hearts of men, revered generation after generation through all time."

We see that this cap is likely to be-

come a symbol of liberation. It already is a symbol of upliftment of the masses of India.

## VII

## What Others Say About Gandhi

## COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

**G**OD help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself increasingly felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflict of the religious law with the worldly laws, in refusal of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent. I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you.

Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the

nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part

—From a letter to Mr Gandhi

## THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it that I see in Mr Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ (Loud Applause)

—From a speech at the Y M C A

## MRS ANNIE BESANT

Among us as I write, is dwelling for a brief space one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi, our martyr and saint. He too, by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient, unwearing

courage that naught might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood.

As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped to hand, I saw in him that deathless spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming saviours and helpers of humanity. I who tread the path of the warrior, not of the saint, who battle against enthroned injustice by assault, not by meekness, I recognize in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those of whom it is said: "He saved others; himself he could not save."

—From "New India."

### MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

In the midst of all this poignant scene of many-voiced and myriad-hearted



'grief he stood, untroubled, in all his transcendent simplicity, the embodied symbol of the Indian nation—its living sacrifice and sacrament in one.

They might take him to the utmost ends of the earth, but his destination remains unchanged in the hearts of his people who are both the heirs and the stewards of his matchless dreams and his matchless deeds".

—Bombay Chronicle, March 1922.

(Description of the scene of the great trial.)

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The secret of Gandhi's success lies in his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice . . . He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame' . . . Emperors and Maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and tortures, insults and injuries, even death itself, cannot daunt

the spirit of Gandhi . . . His simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching; his love for mankind is positive and aggressive. He has what is known as the Christ Spirit. The longer I know him, the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in moulding the future of the world.

—From an interview in America.

## ROMAIN ROLLAND

Soft dark eyes, a small frail man, with a thin face and rather large protruding eyes, his head covered with a thin white cap, his body clothed in coarse white cloth, barefooted. He lives on rice and fruit, and drinks only water. He sleeps on the floor, sleeps very little, and works incessantly. His body does not seem to count at all. There is nothing striking about him—except his whole expression of infinite patience and infinite love

Literally ill, with the multitude that adores him, he distrusts majorities and fears mobocracy, and the unbridled passions of the populace. He feels at ease only in a minority, and is happiest when in a meditative solitude, he can listen to the 'still small voice' within.

This is the man who has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, who has shaken the foundations of the British Empire, and who has introduced in to human politics the strongest religious impetus of the last two thousand years.

—'Mahatma Gandhi' by Romain Rolland

## REV. DR J. H. HOLMES

Gandhi seeks the moral and spiritual regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, Indian custom, and Indian idealism. This means the exclusion, so far as possible, of the influence of the West, with its industrial slavery, its

materialism, its money-worship and its wars.

When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for God's kingdom upon earth.

—From a sermon.

## DWIGHT BRADLEY

Clad in a loin cloth, poor, with empty  
hands,

Confronting Empire, unperturbed he  
stands,

A self-deluded Hindu! How absurd!  
Great Britain can destroy him with a  
word.

Great Britain can destroy him? So it  
can!

Imperial Rome once crucified a Man.

Rome once destroyed a "self-deluded"  
 Jew,  
 Who, dying, said "They know not what  
 they do"  
 The "self deluded" Jew whom Rome  
 despised,  
 Later, by Rome, was apotheosized  
 Mahatma! Saint! With all great souls  
 allied!  
 Condemned today, tomorrow justified  
 —From poem, "Mahatma Gandhi" in  
 The Christian Century

**GEORGE LANSBURY,**  
 Member of Parliament.

As far back as 1920 Mr Lansbury  
 thus echoed some famous words of  
 Richard Cobden "There are more than  
 three hundred million people in India,  
 there are forty million of us English in  
 the British Isles We claim to know  
 more what is good for those people  
 than they do themselves Was there

ever unpudence more colossal? Because our skin happens to be white, we claim more brains than those whose skin has been browned by the sun. Whenever I look at Indians I feel ashamed of myself."

—"The Nation", June 1930

## AMERICAN CLERGYMEN WANT RECONCILIATION

In the interest of India, Britain and the world, we beg you to seek the way to amicable settlement with Gandhi and his people. As ministers of religion who cherish the principles of democracy, freedom, and brotherhood which you represent, and who believe in the spiritual ideals which Gandhi sublimely embodies, we refuse to believe that you and Gandhi cannot work together. We look to you, who hold power and authority in this crisis, to avoid the tragedy of a conflict which would mean catastrophe for Britain, India and mankind.

—A cablegram sent to Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on May 9, 1930 by one hundred and two American clergymen, led by the Rev Dr John Haynes Holmes of New York

### MAYOR MASON

The non violent policy of Mahatma Gandhi has already gained an impetus which no power on earth can ever check, and since Mahatma Gandhi's policy embraces all the teachings of the Christ and is the strongest manifestation of 'The Golden Rule' the world has ever witnessed since the crucifixion of the Saviour, there is little danger of the powers of divinity interrupting Gandhi in his grand and noble struggle towards the fulfillment of his sacred and holy calling—and there remains no cause for the shadow of a doubt but that through the example and efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the whole world will eventually

for ever lay aside the "Sword of Steel"  
and take up the "Sword of the Spirit."

—From address at Brahmo Samaj  
centenary in Calcutta.



## VIII

GANDHI GLIMSED THROUGH  
THE AMERICAN PRESS

Syud Hossain In a McClure Newspaper  
Syndicate Article

**M**AHATMA GANDHI'S message is one of liberation in the most comprehensive sense of the term, bed rocked upon non violence and self abnegtion. There is nothing that Gandhi seeks for himself, but on the contrary he has shown himself dauntlessly willing to sacrifice himself for the truth that is in him.

In the course of the long crusade which is now nearing its climax, Gandhi had not only captured the hearts of his own people—numbering 300,000,000 and more—but also, it would seem, the imagination of the rest of the world. Even on the basis of his record so far, he must be ranked as among the half dozen

most significant and influential figures of this epoch.

. . . . . By fundamental temperament Gandhi is an ascetic, a Puritan and an absolutist. Although he has evolved to his present spiritual and intellectual state by sustained and unflinching self-discipline for more than thirty years, which included a ceaseless self-scrutiny for the motives behind his acts, his boyhood and early manhood were lived morally in conformity with the customs and usages of the caste and community in which he was born.

. . . . . An informed English observer, S. K. Ratcliffe, says that Gandhi is "the most extraordinary popular leader ever known. His followers are counted by tens of millions."

The Fresno (California) Bee

Comparatively little is known in this country about Mahatma Gandhi. Many

Americans fancy he is merely a freak, or a seeker after notoriety and political pull of some sort in India. But as related by Syud Hossain, editor of the New Orient, in a biographical sketch, published in Current History, Gandhi's life has been one of unusual interest and he may be regarded as a genuine character.

His biographer says he had a professional income of \$20,000 a year, but became so devoted to his humanitarian religion that he gave away a large fortune to various philanthropies and pledged himself to a life of poverty and abstinence, that he still confines himself to a diet of a little milk and fruit.

Gandhi's breadth of view is indicated by the fact that he treats all races and religions with respect, and that although he adheres to a native religion of his own, known as the Jain faith, his followers are said to include many Christians and more Mohammedans than follow

any single Mohammedan leader in India.

That Gandhi is a devoted patriot to his native country, as a sincere believer in the right of India to independence and freedom from British rule, there appears to be no reason to doubt. But he never has been a revolutionist or a seeker of political power or authority of any nature.

### The Outlook And Independent

To Gandhi his clothes are a symbol of his poverty, of the poverty of the millions of people he represents and of his willingness to sacrifice everything to gain self-government for India

For Gandhi is more than an ascetic. He is a politician and statesman of the first rank. Of this there is ample evidence, for example, his knack of overcoming opposition among the Indian Nationalists and in securing a large share, if by no means all, of his demands from the British government.

## The United States Of India, February, 1925

It is generally understood by the outside world that Mahatma Gandhi is absolutely opposed to the use of all kinds of machinery. The fact is, that Mahatmajī has been misunderstood.

The following conversation that took place recently between Mr Ramachandran and the Mahatmajī will clarify the Mahatmajī's views regarding machinery.

Ramachandran "Are you against all machinery?"

"How can I be?" Mahatmajī answered, smiling at Ramachandran's naive question, "when I know that even this body is a most delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine, a little tooth pick is a machine. What I object to, is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for

what they call labor-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labor', till thousands are without work and are thrown on the open street to die of starvation. I want to save time and labor, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labor, but greed. It is against this *constitution of things that I am fighting* with all my might."

### **The United States Of India, March, 1925**

The English want to destroy this grand organization of the powerful government in America, and therefore they do not mind to condescend to create as many internal troubles as they can in this vast land. The racial superiority idea and especially the idea of Anglo Saxon superiority which is with-

•out doubt the English made idea, is a two edged sword. On one side while it alienates all the foreign countries, on the other hand, it creates many internal troubles. It creates difficulties among the different nationals who inhabit this country and makes our Negro brethren enemies of their own mother land.

I say, it is still time to wake up, rise and do one's duty. If it gets too late, I am afraid the same sad fate of India will be the lot of this country. Internally it will be divided up in castes and sub castes based upon some foolish ideas of race superiority and externally it may be humiliated for centuries under foreign invasions from Europe or abroad.

The "United States of India", voicing the aspirations and the high hopes of the people of India, honors the memory of Washington, as it reveres the memory of those who served under

him. The people of India will fight with the zeal of a Washington and the courage of his people, backed by the justice of the plea voiced so ably and well by Lincoln for a government of the people, by the people and for the people — as applicable to India as to the United States.

### Appeal of the Pro-India Committee of Leading French Citizens

The whole world knows the history of *this unique and historic attempt to win Swaraj* by means of a bloodless revolution. These events have awakened a new and deep interest in a country which has long been a source of religious and cultural inspiration to mankind. A new era has been opened in the relationship between India and the peoples of the West, to which the writings of Rabindranath Tagore were but a prelude. Henceforth, not merely the art and literature, religions and philosophy of the Indian people



will be eagerly studied, but the great movement for national liberation as well

## The United States Of India October, 1926

Is India ready to make that sacrifice? That is the question which the outside world puts to India. It is also the same question that each Indian daily asks himself. And the answer is plain. India will be free or there will be no India. That is no sentiment. It is only a statement of fact embodying the young spirit of India.

Not infrequently it is asked as to how India is going to free herself without the help of arms. India needs arms. Yet it is not the arms that fight, it is the heart. History bears ample testimony to that fact.

If England did so much in Ireland to bring about religious war, we

may be sure she does not do less in India. We can now understand why there are religious riots in so many of the great cities, and why the Indian police so frequently fire on the mob. In time we shall find that it was Britain who subsidized pogromists of India, who paid the men who today violate a Hindu temple and tomorrow desecrate a Moslem mosque in order to fan into a fury the religious passions of both sects. When that has been achieved, nicely calculated fire by the British police can throw a whole city into 'rioting'. It is a terrible picture but a true one.

**Rabindranath Tagore in "The United States of India, October, 1926**

When the condition of the world is so desperate, it will not in the least help if we in the East also join in this stampede towards a general annihilation. We must discover our salvation in some other power that has its basis

upon sanity, and this power is moral. On its positive side it will work in the direction of unity cultivating the spirit of sympathy and co operation. On its negative side it will actively resist the aggression of evil by the moral weapon of complete ostracism just as we exercise it in its physical form in the case of a fatal disease which is contagious. It will translate fight from its present depth of brutality to the moral altitude which belongs to the human spirit. Through it society will get rid of fighting as a definite profession.

**The United States Of India,  
February, 1927**

Broadly speaking there is no such thing as India's fight for freedom. It is the fight of the whole world and not that of India alone. It is the fight that has been the lot of the human race since the dawn of history and that will presumably continue until doomsday.

. . . . While India is engaged in this life and death struggle, which means so much to her and even to the world in general, it is the duty of every conscientious lover of freedom to extend to her the helping hand and all the moral sympathy because she deserves it inasmuch as she is fighting for a cause. After all, her's is the fight between progress and reaction, freedom and slavery.

**Time, January 9, 1928**

To recall the populations of India and of Great Britain is to wonder how much longer the meek colossus will bear the proud pygmy's yoke. . . . If only Indians would buy NOTHING from Great Britain, then "the nation of shopkeepers" (England) would be choked by its own surplus—at least so believes the Indian National Congress.

To Anglo-Saxons a spinning wheel seems a queer sort of sword. Queerer

still seem the great Indian combatants. They talk not of howitzers nor of horse power but rather of how to evoke from teeming millions a cumulative "soul thrust" which shall rock the world. One and all they defer to the Mahatma "the Great Soul", Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

### The Review of Reviews

He (Gandhi) is first and last a mystic. What he seeks, what he has been striving and pining to achieve for thirty years, he tells us, is self realization, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha (salvation). So long as he has not realized the Absolute Truth, he tells us, so long must he hold by the relative truth as he has conceived it.

Whence has come the hostility which he instilled into the Indian masses millions of whom believed at one time that the 'Satanic' British rule he de-

nounced was to be replaced by a Gandhi 'Raj'? While it is largely an outcome of his revolt against Western materialism and of Tolstoy's influence, it is also an effect of the bitter struggles through which he led the Indians of South Africa in their resistance to disabilities and restrictions on grounds of color

### Literary Digest, June 2, 1928

His (Gandhi's) teaching has been profoundly influenced by the work of Tolstoy, it is said and he knows the New Testament well. It is further declared that Gandhi has repeatedly stated that the Sermon on the Mount went straight to his heart on a first reading, for he felt that it conveyed the truth that renunciation is the highest form of religion. In his autobiography, it appears Gandhi confesses that though he took a path which his Christian friends had not intended for him, he has remained forever indebted to them for

the religious quest they awakened in him

**India and Canada, President Nehru's  
Address to Indian Congress,  
March, 1930**

No one can say what the future will bring but we may assert with some confidence that Asia and even India will play a determining part in future world policy. The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated the rest of the world and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and has plunged in thought again.

We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overran Europe and

modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and especially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

### . India And Canada, March, 1930

When we come to the National Congress, it is clear to those who understand the inner situation that Mahatma Gandhi has by no means lost his control. Yet the ever-increasing impatience of the younger leaders, who were the rank and file of the non-cooperation movement of 1921, makes him constantly defer to their demands and advance somewhat further than he would wish



on his own account to go His moral authority is unchallenged But he himself is sensitive to the new atmosphere of Young India which he breathes in with every breath His deep affection for Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru is also carrying him along with the rapid current of the times He has passed his sixtieth year, but he is amazingly young at heart, and a daring course has its own attraction for him

### **Tribute Of A Pathan in "United India"** **May 23, 1930**

The Mahatma is looked upon not only as a leader—but also a saint—rather a prophet—ordained by Providence to release India of a foreign yoke Not only Hindus, but Moslems, Sikhs and Parsees all alike revere him as being "the greatest living man" today, and feel honored in following his lead

**Lothrop Stoddard in Liberty,  
June 7, 1930**

Consider the mere size of this explosive area. India is as large as all of Europe minus Russia, or of the United States west of the Mississippi. This vast land is inhabited by no less than 320,000,000 people—nearly three times our present population, and almost one-fifth of all mankind. Next to China, India is the greatest human aggregation on earth.

. . . . It is significant that nearly all the Nationalist leaders are Brahmins or almost equally high-caste men. Gandhi, a man of medium caste, is almost the sole exception to the rule.

. . . . Gandhi's scheme of what amounts to a gigantic boycott of everything British is thus not the visionary dream which many Westerners suppose, but is rooted in the basic realities of the situation. For if the great mass of In-

dians could be solidly mobilized to Gandhi's plan, British rule in India would collapse in a week like a house of cards.

In order to appreciate the dramatic series of events that are taking place in India, we should briefly survey the swelling tide of Indian unrest. The first point to note is that, though this revolutionary ferment has grown with ever increasing rapidity it is a comparatively recent thing. Down to the opening years of our century there was no organized agitation against British rule. What precipitated trouble was the Russo Japanese War of 1904-1905. The defeat of a great European power by an Asiatic people sent an electric shock through the whole nonwhite world. White prestige went down everywhere, and in India this loss of prestige (the real basis of British rule) had immediate and serious consequences. By the end of the year 1905 revolutionary agitation

"Gandhi's was the most colossal experiment in world history, and it came within an inch of succeeding. But he couldn't control men's passions. They became violent and he called off his program. You know the rest. We jailed him!"

Indian politics for the past quarter century has been a record of recurrent crises, each graver than the last. As we survey those troubled years we seem to be watching a series of mighty waves rolling in on a rising tide from a dark ocean of unrest. Against those waves stands the British raj—a dike well built indeed, yet essentially fragile and with moral foundations which are being steadily undermined. Unless the storm winds shift and the tide sets in to ebb that dike cannot permanently endure. And if it falls and the pent up flood of revolution sweeps over India, the crash of its destruction

will reverberate like an earthquake clear  
around the world

**Bombay Dispatch in San Francisco  
Examiner, January 27, 1931**

India's mystic agitator for Swaraj, Mahatma Gandhi, was spirited out of Yeroda Prison's gaunt walls in a remarkable midnight drama and astounded his British warders by assuring them he soon would be back. Before he left the bent little Nationalist leader startled officials with these words, "I cannot bear the thought of enjoying my individual liberty while tens of thousands of my brothers and sisters remain in jail." The Viceroy's release of Gandhi and members of the working committee of the All India National Congress was unconditional, but it did not apply to thousands of minor political prisoners.

Interviewed by an Associated Press correspondent and a Reuter Agency re

representative shortly after his release, Gandhi said "Yes, I have a message for the American people. They should study with greatest care conditions and problems in India before formulating judgment. Study study, study—that is the only way to understand in sympathy and real friendship."

**Sailendra Ghose, Universal Service  
Statement, February 19, 1931**

Gandhi, his ear to the ground, is aware of the serious economic crisis today threatening Britain. He knows too well that much of this economic "catastrophe" is due to the Indian boycott of all British produce. Under existing conditions, he can hope to extract more from Britain than India ever could gain by allowing Britain's recovery to be aided by cessation of the civil disobedience movement.

The Mahatma is the master showman of the world. In a \$100,000,000 capital

city, entering a \$1,000,000 palace to talk to the aristocratic Viceroy of King George, he carried his "takli" (portable spinning wheel) and wore his home spun loincloth

The well known make of British automobile that was placed at his disposal by the Viceroy was sent back to the garage. Gandhi drove to the palace in a small American motor car. Since the salt march to Dandi the Mahatma has never ridden in a British car. Even the motor that whisked him away from Yerrawadda Prison was an American make.

### Associated Press Dispatch from New Delhi, India, March 5, 1931

Gandhi (by the truce with Lord Irwin) obtained Britain's promise to release non violent political prisoners, to permit the manufacture of salt in certain restricted areas, to repeal statutes applied to all who practiced civil dis-

obedience and to permit non-violent picketing

The concessions made by Gandhi include the lifting of the boycott against Britain; the cessation of civil disobedience and the withdrawal of demands for an investigation into police brutalities

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Bombay, March 15, 1931**

"I am neither saint nor mahatma (a great soul)", said Gandhi in a speech here today, "but only a humble servant—a satyagrahi (one who practices soul force )

**United Press Dispatch From Karachi,  
India, March 25, 1931**

Declining to receive a small tray with grim, gruesome contents, Gandhi only smiled and maintained complete silence. Thereupon a red-shirted youth rushed toward Gandhi with a flag pole, but



Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, vice-councillor of Benares University, frustrated the would-be assailant.

"Let him come, let him come", replied Gandhi. "I do not fear him and he cannot hurt me." But Gandhi's protectors were of a different opinion. "I do not mind demonstrations against me but they must not be violent", Gandhi yelled, reproving the red shirts as he drove away for the Congress

Gandhi's answer to those who reviled him today was: "Let not India seek its deliverance from British thralldom through murder. Let us not fritter away our chance of winning our liberty, which is now brightest, by being betrayed into angry action by this unhappy episode. Let us not resort to violence to secure our aims."

**United Press Dispatch From Karachi,  
India, March 26, 1931**

The Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, prepared

to defend his creed of non-violence against the attacks of extremists, announced today that he would retire from politics, temporarily at least, if the All-India National Congress, meeting tonight rejects his peace truce with the British government

Decision to retire if defeated in the Congress vote on the peace truce was not unexpected in view of earlier declarations of the Mahatma, whose influence has carried the Indian Independent movement to a powerful position in a single year of the civil disobedience campaign. His retirement would mean that the Extremist Revolutionaries would take control in violent opposition to the government

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Karachi, India, March 29, 1931**

Sixty thousand delegates to the forty-fifth annual session of the Indian National Congress met here tonight with

complete, unqualified independence for India as their immediate objective. Mahatma Gandhi, in a flowing white garment, sat with his cabinet on the platform. He said not a word.

**Associated Press Dispatch By Boyd  
Tucker, American, April 4, 1931**

I am a disciple of Gandhi because I find him the most vital living spiritual personality in the world today. In some respects he has given Christ's message a richer and fuller interpretation, which Jesus himself had neither the time nor the environment in which to develop it. I believe that in Mahatma Gandhi God has again visited the world in its hour of desperate need.

Two great forces are striving for the conquest of the world—Gandhism and Bolshevism—but both are moving in diametrically opposite directions. Bolshevism stands for class discrimination, but Gandhi knows no distinctions in

seeking to achieve his ideal by reason and love

Gandhi stands today as the world's greatest hope of salvation from militarism, from class war, from Bolshevism, from sectarian strife and from tragic conflict between the Orient and the Occident

(Note Mr Tucker of Mansfield, Ohio, formerly associated with the Methodist Episcopal missionary organization now wears the Hindu garb, eats the Hindu ritualistic food and is one of the Mahatma's most active and closest followers )

**Eugene J. Young In The San Francisco Chronicle, April 12, 1931**

Some time in the coming summer or autumn a thin, brown man, wearing large spectacles, a loincloth and sandals, and with his head shaved, is going to face all the pomp of British imperialism in London, perhaps see the King If the

weather he cool he will cloak himself in cheese cloth, or perhaps in a blanket; he will refuse to sleep in a bed and he will eat only vegetables, cracked corn, dates and some other simple things, and drink goat's milk. But the coming of this man is looked forward to with more awe in Britain than has been the coming of any military chieftain or pompous statesman in centuries.

There has been ample demonstration, since Gandhi was released from jail and made his truce with the Viceroy, that he has become the real leader of the Indian people. In the vast crowds, which have given him triumph wherever he has gone, lines of caste, creed and social position have gone down; and he has the support not only of the common people but of the newly educated element, some of the princes, many merchants and native manufacturers and even the radicals who want direct action.

Gandhi is a shrewd politician and trader as well as a mystic, and he can always hold up the idea—a well founded one—that he alone can restrain the radicals and keep them from resort to violence, which might sweep India from end to end

**A Syndicated Article From London**  
**July 25, 1931**

Mahatma Gandhi never takes any important step in his campaign for the liberation of India without long hours of solitude and prayer. The shriveled little saint who is leader of India's army of freedom is not one to waste his time on flowery figures of speech after the manner of his Hindu compatriots. He never wastes word. His thoughts come directly and without metaphor.

These and other characteristics of the Mahatma were revealed by Miss Muriel Lester, who recently spent a month in India close to Gandhi.

**Bombay Associated Press Dispatch •  
August 15, 1931**

Under dripping clouds and in a melancholy atmosphere, twenty-seven delegates sailed for England today without Mahatma Gandhi to attend the second round-table conference on Indian affairs. Most seemed depressed that the Mahatma was not a fellow passenger, for despite the fact he holds radically different political doctrines, they respect him as the leader of the common people.

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Marseilles, September 11, 1931**

Asked by a customs inspector to declare the items he was bringing into the country, the Mahatma replied: "I am a poor mendicant. All my earthly possessions consist of these spinning wheels, some dishes, a can of goat's milk, six home-spun loincloths, a towel and my reputation which can't be worth much."

c "Have you any cigarettes, cigars, alcohol, firearms or narcotics?", the inspector asked

"Oh, no I neither smoke nor drink", the Mahatma replied "Besides, being an advocate of non violence, I never carry firearms "

A British journalist asked Gandhi whether he would be ashamed to go about the streets of London and to appear before King George wearing only his loincloth

"Well, in England you wear plus-fours, while I prefer to wear minus fours', the Mahatma replied

"England should not deny others the gift which she cherishes most herself", said the Mahatma "To kill and to be killed in the act of killing may be an act of bravery, but to withstand all the blows of the adversary and not to retaliate is surely a greater form of bravery That is precisely what India has



Mayor, the Mahatma retired to his rooftop quarters overlooking "dockland" and thousands of smoking chimney tops.

**United Press London Dispatch**  
**September 12, 1931**

The Mahatma's arrival in London coincided with a forecast in Gandhi's horoscope, cast for Gandhi's parents at his birth, that, at the age of 62 he would cross the ocean to see the "white emperor" in England. Gandhi will be 62 on October 2.

**Los Angeles Times Dispatch**  
**September 15, 1931**

"Oh, I said to myself", said Gandhi, "while nearing the shores of this beautiful island of England, perchance it may be possible for you to convince the British ministers that India can be a valuable partner, not held by force, but by the silken cord of love."

"What could not two such nations do

—one a handful, but brave; the other, a very ancient nation with a glorious past, representing two great cultures, Islam and Hindu.

"In that dream of hope, I approached the British Isles and I still maintain that dream: I should love to go away with the conviction that there is to be an honorable and equal partnership between Great Britain and India. I cannot do anything more than say it will be my fervent prayer during all the days I live in your midst that that consummation may be reached."

. . . . As a prelude to meeting his most implacable foe, Winston Churchill, Mr. Gandhi had an hour's talk with Randolph Churchill, son of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer. "Tell your father I regard him as a friend, not an enemy, and plead my case before him", the Mahatma told Churchill. "If India and England are to live together amic-

ably, we as individuals must live in harmony. Nothing can be gained by rancor or enmity."

Pausing tonight in front of Buckingham Palace, which was turned into a fairy castle by dozens of brilliant searchlights, Mr. Gandhi, exponent of the simple life, said "What an extravagance for a government that is trying to balance its budget!" In India the Mahatma reads and works by the light of a candle.

**Associated Press London Dispatch  
September 16, 1931**

Mahatma Gandhi stalked into the "Mother of Parliaments" tonight and pleaded for the British Labor party's support in India's struggle for independence. Earlier the Federal structures committee of the second round table conference was asked (by Gandhi) to give even the lowest taxpayer of India

representation in the legislature of the projected Indian federation.

**Associated Press London Dispatch  
September 23, 1931**

"I will not accept the husks of independence carrying with them safeguards and reservations", Mahatma Gandhi told the 200 members of the House who heard him. "Rather would I declare myself a rebel—thousands of Nationalists have shed themselves of the fear of death."

One blustering member of Commons declared he didn't know much about the Indian question but what he wanted to know was what the word "Mahatma" meant.

Instantly Mr. Gandhi answered: "It means an insignificant person." The chairman explained the term meant "the embodiment of a great soul."

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Darwen, England, September 25, 1931**

Mingled boos and cheers greeted Mahatma Gandhi tonight when he came to the heart of the Lancashire country which lays its economic distress to the boycott he led on British cotton goods in India. Two Scotland Yard men rode up from London with the Mahatma and other uniformed police got on his train at intermediate stations. No one except members of his party was allowed near him. Cotton operators estimate 2,000,000 000 yards of cloth orders were lost because of the boycott declared by the All Indian Congress. The Mahatma has brought along his home made spinning wheel and will do his spinning to morrow just as he does every day.

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Darwen, England, September 26, 1931**

Mahatma Gandhi today saw with his own eyes the misery of this textile

centre, but it did not shake his support of India's boycott of British cotton goods, the measure held largely responsible for the smokeless factory chimneys hereabouts. "The steps I took", he said, "were part of my duty toward the largest army of unemployed in the world, India's starving millions, beside whose pauperism the poverty of Lancashire dwindles into insignificance" When he returned to the house for his simple lunch, he encountered the school children, many of them gaunt-faced and shabbily dressed. Shaking hands with them, he told them he loved all children in the world as his own.

### **The Literary Digest, September 26, 1931**

Although London's East End tittered when the bare-legged Mahatma, clad only in a loincloth, shawl and sandals, with his spinning wheel, pots and pans, appeared in its midst, as the Associated Press notes, the British Government re-

guards him with enormous seriousness

And so, the eyes of the world are upon Gandhi—"beggar", as he calls himself and spokesman for India's "dumb, half starved millions", author of India's civil disobedience campaign that wrung concessions from England, and sponsor of India's boycott on foreign goods that closed dozens of English cotton mills. He lives on goat's milk, fruit and nuts. To his followers he sets an example by spinning cloth every day. 'The greatest leader in the world today,' as he is called by many observers, he slept on a wooden bench in the ship that brought him from India, sharing with it the ship's cat.

Making his first radio speech soon after his arrival in London, the Mahatma told millions of Americans in a soft, deliberate voice about India's revolution by non violence, and appealed for world co operation.

"In my opinion", said the Mahatma,

"the Indian struggle bears in its consequences not only upon India but upon the whole world". Telling about the campaign of non-violence, he said that "we in India feel that the law that governs brute creation is not the law that should guide the human race" And: "I, personally, would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show that way out to the hungry world. I have, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in inviting all the great nations of the earth in giving their hearty co-operation to India in her mighty struggle"



## **Associated Press Dispatch From Manchester, England, Sept. 27, 1931**

Gandhi informed interviewers he has agreed that if India is granted self-government he will propose to prohibit by tariff all foreign cloth except Lancashire material. Leading cotton industrialists said Lancashire will urge its members in Parliament to back Gandhi's political demands "You see," Gandhi explained, it will just be a case of friendly business relations between two equal partners" Gandhi was thinking politically. The cotton men thought of the new business the pact may bring.

## **London Dispatch To The Chicago Tribune, October 8, 1931**

Then he (the Prime Minister) let out the bad news that the conference was only consultive after all, and could not offer anything definite, such as Gandhi



*Gandhi in Meditation*

requested. "What did we promise you at the beginning," MacDonald asked the disappointed delegates. "Only that we would not make up our minds about the future of India until we had consulted you. Do you suggest that in the middle of the consultation we break off and produce proposals?"

Gandhi and other Nationalists who have been harping about independence listened to MacDonald's remarks dejectedly. The Mahatma told friends it was the most humiliating day of his life. Reporting the failure of negotiations to the committee he described "my deep sorrow and deeper humiliation", but added: "My failure does not even mean my utter defeat, for there is no such word in my dictionary".

**London Dispatch From Ferdinand  
Kuhn, Jr. To The New York Times  
October 31, 1931**

Improbable as it may seem in India

and the United States, the Socialist government in Britain is in a genuinely *receptive frame of mind*. The Labor Cabinet under whose auspices the conference will meet is eager to give what responsible Indian leaders want, so long as they are reasonably united in their wishes.

On the British side, the arrival of the Indian delegates has also cleared up some misconceptions which might have wrecked the conference. It is no secret, for example, that the British public expected to find the delegation full of so called "moderates" who would repudiate Gandhi and all his works and who would be willing to acquiesce in a continuance of British administration. If that was the hope it has been shattered to bits, many "moderates" have turned out to be advanced Nationalists who believe that self government for Indians will not mean chaos but that a continuance of British rule inevitably will

The Congress may not be represented at this conference and Gandhi may be in jail, but the Nationalist view point will permeate every discussion in London. To adopt an Irish parallel, there is no de Valera here, but there are plenty of Michael Collinses and Arthur Griffiths ready to negotiate.

**Dispatch From Bombay,  
November 8, 1931**

Members of the Youth League of India feel that they are following the ancient traditions of India, when Krishna, Buddha, Mahawira and other teachers laid the foundations of a revival in society when it was headed toward annihilation and destruction. They hope to build a new India.

During the last month 2500 marriages were celebrated among members of the Youth League in Bombay. Reports from other provinces bring the same

**Los Angeles Times London Dispatch,  
November 9, 1931**

"I am afraid there are fiery days ahead", Gandhi asserted, "but no people ever won its liberty without suffering. Before I leave London I shall go to the last extremity to avert the disaster which looms ahead. If I fail then I shall return to India with an absolutely clear conscience."

**Associated Press London Dispatch,  
November 14, 1931**

If England does not grant complete self-government India will be "plunged into turmoil and suffering again", Mahatma Gandhi said today.

**United Press London Dispatch  
November 24, 1931**

"Gandhi has frequently told us he wants us out of India", said Lord Elbank. "If that is his proposal let us do

unto Gandhi what Gandhi would do unto us Let us deport him to some island in the Archipelago, such as the Andaman Islands, if he renews his campaign as he has threatened to do"

**Robert Wells Ritchie, Through Universal Service, From London,  
November 23, 1931**

Tomorrow thirty two members of the Federal relations committee of the India round table conference meet in historic St James Palace to begin the work of drafting a constitution designed to govern 320,000,000 people, speaking 150 languages and inhabiting 1,760,000 square miles of territory Compared with this attempt, the American constitutional convention in Philadelphia in 1787 was a very small affair NOT COUNTED AT LONDON ARE THE THOUSANDS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S FOLLOWERS THEY ARE

NOT REPRESENTED AT THIS CONSTITUTION MAKING AND ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT IT—IF ANY IS EVOLVED.

**Associated Press, London Dispatch,  
November 26, 1931**

"But a reign of terror cannot kill the desire of millions of Indians for independence", said Gandhi. "We teach our children to dance with joy when bullets fly around them. We teach them to suffer for freedom. And now I must go back to India and invite the nation to a new course of suffering."

**Associated Press London Dispatch,  
November 27, 1931**

Gandhi disappointed but not despondent at what he regards as the failure of the London conference to settle the Indian controversy, made his final plans to return home. "Yes, the Churchillians have won, but their victory may only



be at a terrible cost", he said, referring to the adherents of Winston Churchill "India's millions will now go through another purgatory of suffering to reach their goal of liberty", he added "No army, no armored tanks, no airplanes, no machine guns can frighten them"

**Associated Press London Dispatch,  
November 28, 1931**

Miss Madeleine Slade, who gave up the gay life of a London society girl to become a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, has shocked her English kinfolk by performing the most menial tasks for her Hindu "master". Indeed, this woman, daughter of a distinguished admiral, Sir Esmonde Slade, excited as much curiosity in England as Mr Gandhi himself, whom she considers the greatest man since Christ. Miss Slade tells her friends it is an honor to serve a man "who combines all the attributes of Buddha, Confucius, Christ and Maho

met." "He is too great a man for an humble person like me to describe", said she. "Only after he is gone will the world realize his true greatness and nobility."

**Associated Press London Dispatch,  
December 1, 1931**

In the midst of the flood of oratory (at the London round-table conference), the Mahatma in his loincloth sat mute and inscrutable until the end of his day of silence. Then he suddenly spoke.

"I would strain every nerve to obtain an honorable settlement without exposing the millions of India's men, women and children to the terrible ordeal of civil disobedience", he said. "But if the fight has to be faced, I will renew it with joy".

There was complete silence as he spoke.

"Call it by whatever name you will,

I want complete independence", Gandhi continued "I crave the friendship and do not wish to break the bond between England and India, but that bond must be of real friendship based upon freedom".

**Associated Press London Dispatch  
December 1, 1931**

"What gives me the greatest concern", said Mr Gandhi tonight, "is not the outcome of the round table conference, but the grave events in India, where the government has been stampeded into panic by a few political crimes committed by irresponsible Indian youths thirsting for their country's freedom"

**London Dispatch In The Los Angeles  
Times, December 5, 1931**

Independence, the Mahatma declared in his manifesto, does not exclude "partnership at will on absolutely equal terms with Britain to be determined at the instance of either party."

**Associated Press Dispatch From Rome,  
December 12, 1931**

The Mahatma talked with Premier Mussolini in English for half an hour. He walked into the Premier's office dressed in his familiar attire and gave Il Duce a typical Indian greeting with hands extended before his chest, the palms together. The Premier arose, walked toward him and greeted him cordially .

**Associated Press Dispatch From Rome,  
December 12, 1931**

Mahatma Gandhi missed an opportunity for an audience with Pope Pius today, apparently because his odd costume did not conform with the Vatican requirements of modesty. Gandhi was represented as believing that since he had not altered his native costume for King George, his own sovereign, he could not consistently do so for the head of the Catholic Church.

**Associated Press Dispatch From  
Brindisi, Italy, December 14, 1931**

Mahatma Gandhi closed another chapter in his battle for India's liberty and sailed for home today "prepared for whatever ordeal may be in store for my country and me"

**Los Angeles Times, Bombay Dispatch,  
January 4, 1932**

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested today. Never losing his equanimity, Gandhi sat at his spinning wheel in the darkening shades of the tattered tent and said: "Time alone will show whose position is justified. Meanwhile, I wish to assure the government that every endeavor will be made on the part of the Congress to carry on the struggle without malice and in a strictly non violent manner"

Although apparently on the threshold of a long term of imprisonment or exile, Gandhi did not lose for a minute his

amazing cheerfulness in his conversation with the Associated Press and he predicted a reign of terror would ensue. He expects the government to repress his movement, this time with bullets he said, not merely lathis (staves) "but bullets cannot kill a nation's soul or thirst for freedom", he added. "We shall emerge from the fiery crucible of suffering with hearts and minds purified and spirit exalted." Thus we shall be more worthy of our rightful heritage of liberty".

**The Los Angeles Record,  
January 4, 1932**

With Mahatma Gandhi and his chief lieutenant, Vallabhai Patel, jailed here (in Bombay) today, a new "non-violence" revolt against British rule in India had been declared. Before Gandhi went to jail, he issued instructions to guide the faithful in their non-violent war for independence.

“First observe prayer and fasting, follow with civil disobedience, and fulfill the resolution of the working committee”, he urged, ‘even if hardships include injury or loss of life or property

The Mahatma was arrested at 3 30 a m during his weekly period of silence, under a regulation established in 1827. He wrote his farewell messages to the faithful while members of his family and his staff burst into hysterical weeping.

Gandhi himself was smiling and unmoved. It was the fourth time that the government had tried to quench his patriotism behind prison walls.

### **The Pathfinder**

Subhas Rose, mayor of Calcutta, suggested that the second round table conference on India be held in Washington instead of London. “In the American capital”, he declared, “we would find an

atmosphere of impartiality and sympathy conducive to our success, especially as your tutelary masters would find there historic precedents for one great nation granting freedom to another." Gandhi replied that he approved the suggestion, but said he, "we have no voice in the matter".

### The Fresno Bee

Mahatma Gandhi has offered the British peace in India provided the British will give India dominion status. Great Britain will do well to accept this offer as soon as possible. It has long been plain that nothing less than dominion status will satisfy the Indian leaders. Certainly India is entitled to nothing less. And it is equally certain that Great Britain cannot forever hold India by force; neither the facts of the case nor world opinion will permit it.

Moreover, the day of Western imperialism in the Orient is very nearly over.



If Great Britain recognizes this fact and yields to it gracefully she will be able to keep the friendship of India, and so, need to lose little by the change. While she will gain very greatly in the good opinion of the world and in her own increased self respect.

### **Macon Telegraph, Editorial Comment**

With all his goat's milk and loincloths and hand looms and inner voices, there shines out from Gandhi the leading spirit of the world.

### **New York World Telegram, Editorial Comment**

After listening to his calm avowal of faith in the weapons of the spirit as stronger than physical force, it is not difficult, even for Occidentals, to understand his unique control of the semi-starved millions of India. But Mr Gandhi is challenging more than British

despotism. He is challenging the whole Western machine civilization. And of that machine civilization the United States is the best—or worst, as Mr. Gandhi would say—example.

If Western civilization digs its own grave with destructive competition and wars, maybe another century may see some Gandhian or Christian reign of peace and non-resistance sovereign over the world. Who knows?

## IX

SOME OF THE CAUSES  
OF UNREST

**T**HERE are many causes of unrest in India. Here are just a few of them.

## 1. India Gives Without Return.

In the first place, India is one of the most fertile countries in the world, rich in flora and fauna, plants and flowers, cereals and cotton, mines and minerals, and men and minds.

By reason of its human and natural resources it ought to be one of the richest, the prettiest and the healthiest countries in the world.

Yet it is one of the poorest, most miserable and most unhappy.

Within the last fifty-five years (from 1875 to 1930) it has lost 250 million human beings by death from destitu-

tion, distress and disease. This number is equal to more than twice of the United States' population and five times that of the population of Great Britain.

India's national annual income is about three billion dollars, averaging only \$9.50 per capita; \$1.60 of this \$9.50 is paid toward governmental revenues.

Compare the same with the United States, whose national income is about 38 billion dollars, averaging about \$372 per capita. Only \$12 of these \$372 are given as taxes.

India needs "contentment and prosperity." It is admitted that India is a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of laissez faire is changed it is likely to remain so. India has not been prosperous for a long time past, and is not prosperous now. Literally millions in India are on the border of starvation. Half the population never has a full meal in the day, and means

must be found to remedy this state of things

Its foreign trade, all told, is about 1,400 million dollars, which comes to less than \$5 a head, while that of the United States is about 9 billion dollars, averaging about \$90 per capita

Of India's total foreign trade, before the war, 69·8 per cent, was with the United Kingdom and 3·1 with the United States

The whole of its import and export trade including shipping, banking, insurance etc., is in alien hands

It imports mainly manufactured goods, while it exports raw produce and food stuffs

Only 18·56 per cent of its people are engaged in industry, transport and trade

Its methods of agriculture are ancient and antequated. It uses no machinery

and no scientific fertilizers to increase its produce.

Its most flourishing industries are in the hands of foreigners—tea, coffee, paper, jute—almost exclusively, and textiles partly, in the hands of Indians and partly in the hands of the Europeans.

The reasons are lack of education, lack of skilled labor and lack of capital. There has been no lack of goodwill on the part of the British nation which has ruled the country for more than 150 years, but because of the autocratic, bureaucratic, and purely capitalistic nature of its political institutions, and of the denial of fiscal and political autonomy to the people of the land, the country has not made such progress as it should have.

The total revenues each year amount to 495 million dollars. In the 1914-1915 budget more than 100 million were pro-

vided for the military and less than 20 million dollars for education

British India has about 537,000 villages and cities and about 121,000 schools. If we exclude schools in the cities the average will come to about one for six or seven villages. The proportion of male pupils to male population is 47 per cent and that of female pupils to female population only 94.

The world can never be made safe for democracy without India, with its 350 million people being democratised, educated and developed on modern lines. That is only possible by the grant of independence or Home Rule—such as that which prevails in Canada, Australia and South Africa.

## 2 Salt And Sedition

India with its 5000 miles of sea board possesses an inexhaustible store of crystalline salt in the Punjab, in Rajputana, Sindh, and Bombay, and all other

coastal parts The country is not only in a position, to be self-supporting, but it also can export a large surplus But the salt has been a government monopoly At its original source of production it costs about a quarter of a penny a pound To the consumer the government will sell it at a price which works up to "100 times its original price", so heavily taxed is the commodity The government laws would not permit the people to make the salt for themselves The diet of the poorest of the poor—"There are no less than 40 million people living on the verge of starvation"—Sir William Hunter—consists of one bare meal a day, which is made up of rice with salt as condiment The poor man cannot afford to buy even a pinch of salt And, furthermore, while the country can produce all the salt it needs, one third of the total consumption of the country is imported by the government from England One crore



(10,000,000) of rupees are thus allowed every year to be drained out of the country on account of the English import of salt .

No wonder that there are some million "agitators" in India busy day and night, making salt and manufacturing sedition

### 3. Taxation Without Representation

India has no voice in matters important England decides everything for her Naturally, England does things not to please India, but to please itself Again, the taxes are enormous, especially upon the products of the land Each year India pays England staggering tribute, many millions of pounds, sterling

Then, too, there is the vast army of both soldiers and officials to maintain The higher officials receive salaries that are fabulous from the Hindu point of view To give just one example, the

Viceroy draws more salary a year than the President of the United States of America, although America is the richest country in the world and India the poorest, and it takes only about one-third as much money to live in India as it does in the United States. For the minor positions England is training our young men, milling them, so to speak, to fill clerical positions, as tools of the British. The positions are not good enough for the Englishmen. In other words, it would not pay intelligent Englishmen to go to India to take such positions.

#### 4. Famines And Starvation

Before the English came into control there was rarely any famine perhaps one in a century. During the last fifty years there have been some thirty famines. Before the English invasion, India had her communal way of living. Each community looked out for its members.

Ample provision was made for a year of bad crops. The storehouses were kept filled with grain. The English put an end to that system. The taxes became fearfully oppressive to the peasantry and caused artificial conditions which brought widespread poverty and suffering. With the poverty there was the inevitable accompaniment of disease. The upper and middle classes could protect themselves but the masses suffered.

## 5 Lack of Education

Universal education in India is conspicuous by its absence. Only ten per cent of the people can read and write. The teachers are under paid. The buildings are unsanitary and ill ventilated. The policy of the government has been to produce a class of official hirelings for the lower grades of the administration and to undermine the national spirit of the people. All teaching is conducted

in English, a foreign tongue. Imagine for a moment Americans passing their examinations in Arabic, in every branch of knowledge, instead of their mother tongue.

High School and college students have to pass their examinations in English. For the Civil Service they must go to London, England to be examined. Such an unnatural system inevitably paralyzes a nation's intellect. There is no good scientific training. The laboratories are poorly equipped. The tendency of education is to make the young look down upon their own people. On the contrary, in several States, such as Baroda, education has reached its highest efficiency. Again, in some of the National colleges and universities, much better system and training are available.

#### 6. Putting The Lee Commission Recommendations in Force

The Lee Commission recommended

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**6. Putting The Lee Commission  
Recommendations in Force**  
The Lee Commission recommended

an increase in the number of English officials in the Indian Civil Service, with increased salaries and allowances. These recommendations that were rejected by the Indian Assembly, were passed by the British Parliament early in 1925. This is another example of the exploitation of India, which has been bled white.

### 7. The Appointment Of The Simon Commission

The Simon Commission was appointed by the British Government in 1928 and it consisted entirely of British officials. It proceeded to India in that year to study the conditions and to determine if India were fit for Home Rule. This was an insult to the whole Indian population. Not a single member of the commission was from India. The result was that in most places in India the commission was boycotted by the public. The country did not want strangers coming seven thousand miles to decide

their destinies for them when they had more capable men present in India itself.

### 8. Breach Of Promises By The British

Queen Victoria, when she assumed the title of Empress of India in 1857, proclaimed to Indians that:

"It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

But there was no attempt to give that proclamation practical effect. Indeed, Lord Curzon, when Viceroy, stated in a public speech that there would always be a "corps d'elite" of white men in India.



## 9. The Tragedy Of 1919

The shooting at an innocent religious mob by the British officials, without warning, killing five hundred persons, and wounding fifteen hundred men, women and children, at Amritsar in 1919 was an atrocious crime that the future historians of India will always remember. The tragedy stirred the whole nation. This made Tagore renounce his knighthood as he preferred being called Dr Tagore to Sir Tagore under such a bureaucratic system.

## 10. Barbarous Repressions and Arrests

The C I D, the Police, and the Secret Service Departments have left no stone unturned in arresting and imprisoning the best, the purest and most self sacrificing leaders, in many instances with mock trials, thus adding insult to injuries.

Below we give an article by Robert

Welles Ritchie as it appeared in the San Francisco Examiner on November 20, 1930, under the title "Atrocities in India Told at Conference".

London, Nov. 19—(By Special Cable to Universal Service). Accounts of atrocities in India, hitherto strictly censored in all Indian dispatches, were revealed suddenly at the third plenary session of the India Round Table Conference in St. James Palace today by Dr. B. S. Moonjee, Hindu Nationalist, head of the Mahasabha, and strongly sympathetic to the cause of Mahatma Gandhi.

After pillorying Lord Peel's conservative view of India, Doctor Moonjee suddenly plumped upon the subject of atrocities, declaring:

"In an organ called 'Young India', Miss Madeleine Slade, British-born daughter of an admiral who fought in the late war, writes' concerning the

ways of British oppression, I shall only 'quote from her writing. She details the way of oppression as

" 'Lath blows on the head, chest, stomach and joints, thrusts with laths in the abdomen and (deleted unprintable), stripping men naked before beating, tearing off loincloth (unprintable) until a man becomes unconscious, dragging wounded men into thorn hedges or salt water

" 'Riding horses over men as they sit or lie on the ground, thrusting pins and thorns into men's bodies sometimes even after they are unconscious, beating unconscious men, and other things too vile to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feelings of the Satyagrahis' "

Prime Minister MacDonald and the members of the British delegation were greatly embarrassed by Dr Moonjee's startling revelations

## 11. Racial Discrimination

Last, but not least racial discrimination by the British against the people of India.

An Englishman travelling by train will not tolerate the presence of an Indian in his compartment. The Hindu must use some other car, though the Hindu is paying first class fare and is educated in all branches of service. The lot of an Indian is a very low position. Ever since the British have been in India, about 150 odd years, no Indian has ever been allowed to rise to the position of governor except once when Lord Sinha became head of one of the provinces of India. And no Indian has ever been appointed Governor General or Viceroy, although India has had wonderful statesmen and remarkable geniuses by the thousands.

These are some of the many grievances which have led India toward a

realization of her emasculation and consequent destruction by the British, hence the wide awakening through the whole length and breadth of the country

## X

## CONCLUSION

**I**NDIA is the second largest country in the world, from the standpoint of inhabitants, with a population of 350 million people. In size it is as large as the whole of Europe, minus Russia, or approximately, two-thirds the size of the United States of America.

This peaceful country is aflame today. She wants her independence from all foreign rule. She is entitled to it. It is her birthright to be free.

Free India means peace on earth. It seems that God has destined India to be the Spiritual Mother of the World. She always has been and she always will be. Thus it becomes the moral duty of every human being to help India free herself, in order that she may serve all the earth. Free she will be! For, she is awake now. She has had a good slumb-

er for about 160 years Gandhi has brought her out of the deep sleep. He has patched up her broken limbs and done away with her caste system and other artificial appurtenances. She is on the war path to destroy the evil systems among her people. Once her own house is clean, she will then purge the false customs of the world. The Spiritual Mother is awake. Hail to her noblest Son, Gandhi! Hail to the Emancipators of the World! Gandhi may rot in jail, but his name has been writ large in the skies, along with those of Jesus, Buddha, Lincoln, Washington, and other Saviours of mankind.

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